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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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## Bank of Israel report: War, Aridor blamed for economic ills

**By AVITENKIN**  
Post Economic Reporter

The war in Lebanon and former Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's policy were named by the Bank of Israel yesterday as the two main culprits responsible for Israel's poor economic state.

The war has increased local defence expenditure by 7 per cent annually for the past two years, and Aridor's policies led to the crisis of confidence and expectations of a devaluation that brought on the bank shares crisis, the bank's report on the economy for 1983 says.

Speaking to a press conference, the central bank's governor Moshe Mandelbaum, said the government should try to tackle the balance of payments deficit and inflation simultaneously.

Mandelbaum also had harsh words for Aridor's policies and blamed his behaviour since 1981 for most of the economy's hardships, though without mentioning Aridor by name.

He warned that government deficits will increase the country's foreign debt, and that the public is no longer willing to lend it money to the government. As a result the money being printed by the government to cover its deficit is being used by the public to buy foreign currency, but not to invest in government bonds or savings schemes.

The governor said the policy of "5 per cent" (a reference to the month-

ly rate of devaluation and increases in controlled prices during Aridor's stint as finance minister) only resulted in a capital market crisis without curbing inflation as planned.

Mandelbaum was also critical of the current high rate of inflation, although he carefully avoided attacking Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orlag as strongly as he had Aridor.

Mandelbaum refused to answer any questions on the present economic crisis, saying that belongs to my next report, which will be presented next year. He said reporters he was prepared to answer any questions of a "professional nature" and "not those which can be interpreted as not being professional," a reference to issues bearing on the election campaign.

In fact, Mandelbaum apparently regarded most of the main questions as "unprofessional." On questions concerning the capital market, bank shares or inflation he referred the questioners to the bank's report.

He also declined to comment on his role during the months preceding the bank shares crisis. Later he told a radio interviewer that the bank shares crisis had been put into his lap when he became governor and that his behaviour was "more than okay."

The report draws a bleak picture of the state of the economy. Inflation and lack of confidence have

## Karamneh vows to free area held by Israel

**BEIRUT (AP).** — Prime Minister Rashid Karamneh yesterday pledged to liberate "every yard" of Israeli-occupied Lebanese territory and to silence civil-war guns, in a policy statement with which his national coalition government is seeking a vote of confidence from parliament.

In an hour-long speech, Karamneh outlined the difficult challenges facing his half-Christian, half-Muslim cabinet — including tasks that have stymied his predecessors during the past nine years of civil war.

The 62-year-old veteran politician demanded before a heavily guarded parliament session that his government be given special powers to rule by decree for nine months. "This is an exceptional government for an exceptional situation," he said.

He listed four priorities facing his government: the liberation of South Lebanon from Israeli occupation, the establishment of security and stability across the country, reviving the shattered economy, and reforming the nation's political structure, which has been a major cause of the ongoing sectarian strife.

Karamneh proposed to offer Israel security guarantees for its northern borders and to transform the fragmented Lebanese Army into a force capable of winning the confidence of the dubious Israelis.

The security arrangement would



Labour Party secretary Haim Bar-Lev submits his party's list of candidates for the Knesset elections to Justice Gavriel Bach, chairman of the Central Elections Committee, in Jerusalem yesterday.

## 'Jewish terror' hearing adjourned to June 11

**By ROBERT ROSENBERG**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Jerusalem District Court Judge Yisrael Weiser yesterday postponed until June 11 a hearing about whether 24 of the 26 defendants in the alleged Jewish underground will be held until the end of their trial and whether their names can be published before the trial begins. A date for the trial has not been fixed.

During the two-hour hearing yesterday that ended with the decision to resume on June 11, Defendant No. 1 paid little attention to the proceedings, preferring instead to study a page of Talmud. Two seats away on the crowded bench of the accused, Defendant No. 2 waved to his mother as she came in the courtroom door. Where the defendants' benches spilled into the main part of the courtroom, Defendant No. 17 huddled with his wife.

In an atmosphere reminiscent of a

## Campaign gets into gear as lists submitted

**By AARON SITTNER**  
SARAH HONIG and Itim

The campaign for the July 23 Knesset elections was off and running last night, with all the parties submitting their lists of candidates to the Central Elections Committee in the Knesset building by midnight.

Twenty-five lists, 13 of them new, will compete in the elections for the 11th Knesset.

In a last-minute round of peace-making efforts, the major parties settled their remaining internal squabbles, with the Likud awarding Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon a position in its campaign headquarters and the Alignment promising Abba Eban a meaningful portfolio if it forms the next government to make up for his losing the

foreign affairs portfolio to Yitzhak Navon.

The National Religious Party, however, was unable to prevent the last-minute departure of Eban, the national religious women's movement, which was disaffected with its No. 8 slot on the NRP list. (See separate stories Page 1.)

With most of the smaller parties submitting their lists earlier in the day, the Likud delegation, consisting of Knesset Members Ronnie Milo, Ehad Olmert and Moshe Katsav, presented their list of 120 names to committee chairman Justice Gavriel Bach at 8.15 p.m. "We hope that most of this list will be elected to the Eleventh Knesset," Milo said.

Forty-five minutes later, the Alignment delegation, headed by Labour Party secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev, presented Bach with

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Sharon given Likud HQ post

**By SARAH HONIG**  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Likud has rid itself of a major problem that has plagued it in recent weeks by finally persuading Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon to take a job in the campaign headquarters. The party hopes the job will keep Sharon out of political mischief and lessen his bitterness.

But Sharon did not get what he wanted, he will again be in charge of special operations, the job he held in the 1981 campaign. He had to bow to the wishes of campaign manager David Levy and accept what was offered him. Sharon initially insisted on either heading the information campaign or being put in charge of organization. Both these posts are already filled and party leaders refused to let Sharon have them in the first place.

Sharon sulked for a while and refused to take another job, but Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir intervened in an effort to end the Sharon-Levy feud. He talked to both

of them and got Sharon to accept what was being offered him. The Jerusalem Post learned from reliable Herut sources.

However, Sharon will take part in meetings of the committee forming information policy during the campaign.

Herut, meanwhile, has improved the position of its own candidates on the Likud list of candidates, after cutting Liberal representation by two, paring down the La'am representation by one, and ridding the list of a host of unaffiliated candidates it had three years ago. Nor will it have candidates from splinter factions that exist only on paper, such as Yitzhak Peretz, who defected to Labour in mid-term and was said to represent Rafi.

In the Tenth Knesset, only 24 Knesset members out of the 48 elected by the Likud came from Herut. But on the Eleventh Knesset list, Herut has 25 of the first 40 slots, the Liberals 12 and La'am three. If the Likud wins only 45 Knesset seats, 29 of them will be Herut's.

## Sri Lanka announces Israeli presence

**COLOMBO (Reuters).** — Sri Lanka yesterday formally announced a limited Israeli presence in Colombo amid mounting protests in the country.

A Foreign Ministry statement said: "At the request of the governments of Sri Lanka and Israel, the U.S. has agreed to act as a protecting power for Israel in Sri Lanka through the establishment of an Israeli section under auspices of the U.S. Embassy."

"As is customary in the absence of

diplomatic relations, the section will represent the interests of Israel in Sri Lanka."

Opposition parties and Moslem organizations across the country have denounced the government's move.

In Hongkong Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene said he is willing to receive aid from "devils" to combat those who want to create a Marxist state in his country. (Reuters, AP)

(See story page 3.)

## 17 dead as floods sweep eastern U.S.

**NEW YORK (AP).** — A week of record rain that has claimed 17 lives and forced thousands of people from their homes caused the worst flooding in almost 30 years yesterday in parts of the northeastern U.S., where some communities were under 2 metres of water.

Highways were impassable, schools were closed, and volunteers hustled to build sandbag dikes to protect many communities from North Carolina to New Hampshire. The most serious flooding was reported in New England.

Up to 30 cm. of rain have fallen on parts of the northeast, and rivers across New England were as high as 2 metres above flood stage and still climbing yesterday.

Forecasters predicted a repeat of Wednesday's record-breaking 32-degree heat in the Rocky Mountains, and warned that melting snow coupled with rain could trigger flash flooding.

## Savior scores 'anti-Arab incitement'

**Jerusalem Post Staff**

In a barely veiled attack on his deputy, Knesset Speaker Menachem Savidor said yesterday it "grieves" him that the Knesset podium was used to make "inciting statements against Arabs."

"These statements," he said, "could be interpreted as encouragement of untold vengeance."

Savidor, speaking to a delegation of The Jewish National Fund of the U.S., was clearly referring to the recent remark by Deputy Knesset Speaker Meir Cohen-Avidor that any Arab who murdered a Jewish child should have his eyes gouged out.

"God forbid that we should advocate the use of the same brutal, bestial means employed by the terror organizations. There is no stronger guarantee for our security and survival than our moral strength," Savidor said.

"Violence and democracy cannot exist side by side," he said. "Anyone who supports violence, either tacitly or openly, as a spontaneous emotional reaction or as part of a world outlook, not only subverts the rule of law, but also undermines the foundations of the government, the values of the state and the Zionist movement, and the prospects of peace and coexistence between Arabs and Jews."

## 500,000 at TA open-air concert

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

TEL AVIV. — A huge crowd, estimated by Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat at between 400,000 and 500,000 people, flowed into Haharlan Park here last night for the Philharmonic-in-the-Park festive concert.

The crowd overflowed the open-air amphitheatre in the centre of the park and spread out on the grass on every side of the stage. On stage,

Zubin Mehta conducted the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra.

The highlight of the concert was world-famous Spanish soprano Montserrat Caballe.

The evening ended with the Tel Aviv Philharmonic choir and IDF Orchestra joining the IPO for Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture, complete with fireworks at the end.

The police said there were no disturbances at the concert.

## Harsh penalties set for West Bank rock-throwers

**By DAVID RICHARDSON**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Judea and Samaria military government has issued a military order that empowers military courts to pass sentences of up to 20 years for rock-throwing attacks on passing vehicles. The mere throwing of a stone that might hit passing traffic is an offence carrying a maximum sentence of 10 years.

Heretofore, the military courts have handed down sentences of up to 18 months in prison and heavy fines.

The new order, No. 1108, is an addition to a previous order that deals with the possession of firearms and explosives. It reads: "Whoever throws an object, including a rock: 1) In a manner that strikes or is apt to strike traffic on transport route may be sentenced to 10 years in prison. 2) Towards a person or property with the intention of striking the person or property may be sentenced to 10 years in prison. 3) Towards a moving vehicle with the intention of striking it or a person travelling in it may be sentenced to 20 years in prison."

The new order authorizes the courts to impose far stiffer sentences for rock throwing than in the past. Because of the way it has been

phrased, it also makes the work of the military prosecutor far easier in that he no longer has to prove the actual result of the rock-throwing or who specifically among several defendants was responsible for the result.

There was one exception to the relatively light prison terms handed down in the past. That was the incident in which Esther Ohana was killed near Dahariya nearly two years ago. The five men found guilty were sent to prison for between 11 and 13 years.

The new order follows vociferous demands and strong pressure from Jewish residents of the West Bank to

curb the plague of rock-throwing attacks on Israeli traffic in the area. They originally demanded that the government sanction the banishment of convicted rock-throwers.

A senior military source said last night that the new order with its vastly stiffer sentences "reflects the political situation."

Military sources explained that the new order only lays down maximum penalties. Other orders limit a military judge hearing cases on his own to a maximum sentence of five years. In more serious cases a full panel of three judges — two of whom are usually qualified lawyers — is necessary to hand down maximum penalties.

## IAI sells special F-15 fuel tanks to U.S.

**Post Defence Reporter**

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Aircraft Industries this week completed the production of a series of special fuel tanks for F-15 fighters, which increase their internal fuel capacity by 70 per cent.

IAI have built 50 sets of the conformal fuel tanks for the F-15's American manufacturer

McDonnell-Douglas.

Unlike conventional fuel tanks, which are placed under the planes' wings, the conformal tanks are attached to the F-15's fuselage. The IAI said they are contoured to prevent additional drag at subsonic speeds. At supersonic speeds they create far less drag than the conventional external tanks do.

The \$30 million deal was part of an agreement whereby the U.S. places orders in Israel to reciprocate for Israeli purchases there, a well-informed source said. Similar tanks are being produced in the U.S.

## Joie de Yeshiva



The Jerusalem Post celebrates Shavuot with a 32-page supplement this Tuesday, June 5. Spotlights the yeshiva scene. The Post discovers that Torah study in Israel is diversifying. At one yeshiva, women are now poring over the Scriptures, entering an erstwhile men-only world, while another school is combining religion with technology.

In other stories...

- The Shavuot menu is traditionally dairy. The reasons behind the holiday's dietary customs are explored.
- A story on the increase of bride-snatching.
- Have I got a girl for you — a story on the increase of bride-snatching.
- Teaching teachers to teach Torah.
- A Yemenite synagogue in Jerusalem comes back to life.
- Pop, gurgel, fizz — a bubbly new wine is tickling epiglottises across the country.

And more — 32 pages of great reading, this Tuesday in the Holiday Edition of

**THE JERUSALEM POST**

## To Our Readers:

The Jerusalem Post is raising its prices from today to IS 120 for the daily edition IS 190 for the Friday edition (including the weekend magazine and holiday eve issues).

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The Editors

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Local, PLO critics oppose renewing ties

## Sri Lanka braving hostility to Israel

By DAVID KRIVINE

The decision to let Israel open an interest section at the U.S. embassy in Colombo was front-page news in Sri Lanka and is arousing tremendous controversy, according to a visitor just arrived from that country, who is familiar with the situation there.

Opposition comes from Moslem groups, and from the left-wing Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) headed by Anura Bandaranaike, son of the prime minister who broke relations with Israel in August 1970. Reuters reported yesterday from Colombo that the PLO said it had expressed to the Sri Lanka government its dissatisfaction over Colombo's invitation to Israel to help fight the island's separatist terrorists.

PLO representative Khairuddin Abdul Rahman said that the Moslem, which he described as a "terrorist Israeli institution," was helping to train the island's armed forces.

More than 50 members of the Mossad are already in Sri Lanka, Abdul Rahman said, adding that the PLO had expressed its dissatisfaction while some Arab states had told the Sri Lanka government of their disappointment at the invitation to Israel.

Bandaranaike sides with the PLO, declaring that "as long as the Palestinian problem is unsolved, nobody in this world can sleep peacefully," the source said.

Sri Lankan Foreign Minister A.C.S. Hameed explained that the renewal of ties with Israel is due to the need for aid in putting down terrorism. This has antagonized the Tamil Congress Party, which thinks that the aim must be to subdue the Tamil underground resistance movement, the Tigers.

"But that is not the whole story," the source says. President J.P. Jayawardene wishes to restore peace between the Tamil and the Sinhalese communities.

"The army went on the rampage last July, burning and looting Tamil homes and killing the occupants. I have myself seen a Tamil village completely gutted," the source said. "The outbreak was a shock to the whole country. The authorities felt they had lost control of their own armed forces. So the need of advice and assistance from the Israelis is a serious matter."

Oppositionists asked why aid could not be sought from Britain's SAS or America's Green Berets. The answer provided by Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathurudum: "What we have chosen (that is, the Israeli service) is the best in the world."

A further justification for resuming a working contact with Israel was the need for assistance in agriculture. A full-page article in last Sunday's newspaper *The Island*, entitled *The Israeli Connection*, recalls that before links were broken 14 years ago Ceylon (the previous name of Sri Lanka) enjoyed a "fruitful relationship" with Israel, resulting in the introduction of tube-well technology

and the encouragement of large-scale grape cultivation in the north.

An important new development scheme — one of the biggest in Asia — is close to completion: the Mahaweli river project. Four big dams built in the central mountain region have created lakes of 15 to 20 square kilometres. Thanks to the irrigation supplied, the country is returning to self-sufficiency in rice-cultivation. But another 120,000 families are due to be settled under the plan, and what will they grow? he asks.

Sri Lankan rice is not of the exportable variety, nor do the farmers have the necessary infrastructure for other forms of cultivation. This is where Israeli expertise comes in, the source said.

The Colombo authorities made a careful probe of reactions in Arab, Moslem and Third World capitals before renewing the Israeli link. They emphasize that their policy of support for the Palestinian cause remains unchanged.

They do not expect a decrease in their tea exports to Iraq, Egypt and elsewhere, nor do they fear for the employment of their nationals in the Gulf countries. Thailand and the Philippines maintain full diplomatic relations with Israel, yet have the largest number of resident workers in the Arab countries, Sri Lankan sources point out.

The Ceylon-Israel Friendship Association, which had 158 members in 1970, canvassed for the resumption of diplomatic relations after 1977, following the oil-price increase engineered by OPEC.

According to the newspaper *The Nation* (supporter of Bandaranaike's SLFP), five cabinet ministers or deputy ministers and 21 members of Parliament actively promoted the renewal of ties at the time.

There is some disillusionment in Asia with Arab policies, and Sri Lanka is the first to take an initiative in shaking off the limitations imposed by the oil powers on other countries' freedom of action.

"It does not mean that Sri Lanka will restore full diplomatic relations with Israel," the visitor observed. "But the present step certainly confirms that there is no innate hostility to Israel among inhabitants of the island. Despite last year's tragic clash," he continued, "they are peace-loving people. The word 'serendipity' [coined by Horace Walpole] means the faculty of making happy discoveries by accident. It comes from the word 'serendip', which was Sri Lanka's original name before it was called Ceylon," he recalls.

## Kindergarten teachers may strike in Haifa

HAIFA — Kindergarten teachers intend to stage a two-hour warning strike in all of Haifa's 213 kindergartens on Sunday in protest against the municipality's decision to dismiss 26 of their colleagues.

They will report for work at 10 a.m. instead of the usual 8 a.m. starting time.



Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy greets visiting veteran paratroopers from Western countries at the Beaufort Castle, the former PLO stronghold and medieval fortress, in South Lebanon on Wednesday. (IDF photo)

## Begun's wife still waiting to visit jail

Ina Begun, wife of Prisoner of Zion Yosef Begun, has been waiting for more than two weeks for official approval of her request to visit her husband in prison, the Committee for Soviet Jewry said yesterday in Tel Aviv.

Following their wedding at the prison on April 16, the couple did not receive the customary three-day marriage leave and the authorities said they would notify Ina Begun of their decision on the matter by May 15. Since the wedding, she has received only a cable from her husband, asking her not to visit the prison but rather to send money to buy books, and a letter noting that so far, Begun has not got approval on receiving letters from his wife.

Meanwhile, in Poland, the wife of Prisoner of Zion Alexander Pritzky said that she has not received any information about or word from her husband for the past two months. The emigration activist was sentenced to three years in prison in August 1981, the committee said.



Aluf-Mishne (Col.) Ben-Zion Farhi has been appointed Israel Defence Forces Judge Advocate-General, succeeding replacing Tat-Aluf (Brig.-Gen.) Dov Shefi, who has retired from the IDF and taken a senior defence post. Farhi's appointment and his promotion to tat-aluf take effect today. (IDF)

## TAU physics seminar for refusenik scientists

TEL AVIV — A physics seminar was held yesterday at Tel Aviv University as an expression of solidarity with Soviet Jewish scientists who are not permitted to leave the USSR and who are prevented from continuing their scientific work because of their desire to come to Israel. Papers by 15 refusenik scientists were presented at the conference.

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## Haifa mayor urges gov't action in hospital crisis

By DAVID RUDGE

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
HAIFA — Mayor Arye Gurel called on the health and finance ministers yesterday to prevent the closure of more departments at the Rothschild Hospital here.

Gurel sent the two telegrams accusing the government of a lack of concern over a situation that he said is endangering the health of people in Haifa and the North.

The hospital administration has suspended all elective surgery and closed four of the six operating theatres because, it says, the suspension of construction work on the

hospital's west wing endangers patients. The wing contains equipment providing electricity and water to the entire hospital.

Hospital director Dr. Dov Golan said he will be forced to close the neo-natal intensive-care unit on Sunday followed by the cardiac intensive care and dialysis units, unless work starts immediately on restoring the hospital's two stand-by generators and other vital systems. He has also advised the staff in surgical wards and operating theatres that they may have to take "holidays" because of the reduced workloads.

## Shamir: U.S. warned Hussein in 1967

The U.S. warned King Hussein in 1967 not to attack Israel, and when he did so without provocation, the U.S. said it could not assure Jordan that the "territories would be returned," Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir told the Tenth European-Israeli Bonds conference. Speaking to the 160 delegates at a reception at Beit Haanasi on Wednesday night, Shamir said that the U.S. only advised Jordan to initiate direct negotiations with Israel.

Quoting a recent article in *The*

*Jerusalem Post* by Arthur Goldberg, the U.S. envoy to the UN in 1967, Shamir emphasized that Hussein "never received the slightest assurance which he unceasingly repeats."

Speaking at a Bonds breakfast meeting yesterday, Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres warned that annexation of Judea and Samaria would mean the end of the Jewish majority in this country. Israel should learn from Lebanon about the dangers of communal conflict, he said.

## Ex-bank manager suspected of fraud

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A former bank manager, suspected of "operating a bank within a bank" by fraudulently arranging millions of dollars of loans, was released on \$1 million bail by the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday.

The man, Shimon Buriya, of Holon, who was manager at the United Mizrahi Bank in Herzliya until March, is alleged to have illegally authorized bank guarantees for securing the loans, most of which were transferred to Lev Ha'ir, a company owned by contractor Shalom Ganish. The police said that Buriya, 30, committed these crimes together with another former manager at the bank.

Buriya is also suspected of using blank cheques that borrowers had entrusted with him for later repayment to withdraw sums far in excess of their loans.

Also in Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday, a former bank teller suspected of stealing \$1760,000 from clients' accounts was freed on \$300,000 bail.

She is Simi Fahima, 31, of Ashkelon, who allegedly stole the money last August while working at a Bank Hapoalim branch in Holon. The police representative said she withdrew the funds by forging 16 clients' signatures on withdrawal slips.

## 12-dunam artificial lake slated for Timna

A 12-dunam artificial lake is to be dug soon at Timna park, 32 kilometres north of Eilat, with the help of the Jewish National Fund of America.

The lake will be filled from an underground water source and will

have boating, fishing and swimming facilities, the JNF spokesman announced.

The chairman of the JNF of America's national leadership council, Avrum Chudnow, has presented the JNF with an initial contribution of \$200,000 towards the project.

The spokesman also announced yesterday that a recreational park will be established at the Ein Kobi spring, near Moshav Mevo Betar 10 kilometres southwest of Jerusalem. The funds for the park have been donated by Harold and Rochelle Schwartz of New York.

## LOST WALLET

REWARD for return of red wallet, lost at bus stop (No. 1) at the Western Wall at 6 p.m. on Wednesday, May 30, I.D. (Gilbert Beck) in the wallet. Tel. 02-551971.

## Wage pact talks moot 'general principles'

By ROY ISACOWITZ

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
TEL AVIV — Wage negotiations between the Histadrut, the national unions and the public-sector employers resumed here yesterday, but without visible achievements. The three-hour talks focused on general principles and the Histadrut's demand for revised wage scales, participants said.

The negotiations will continue after the Shavuot holiday next week. Histadrut sources said the negotiators will meet in smaller work teams, and the intensity of the talks is expected to mount.

During yesterday's talks, Histadrut trade union department chairman Haim Haberfeld said a revised wage scale is the labour federation's central demand. Finance Ministry budget director Hillel Dudai, representing the government and public employers, replied that a revised wage scale made "sense," but that he would have to examine the details of the Histadrut's demand.

Dudai added that the Treasury's

aim was to "keep real wages at their present level." Haberfeld countered that he was not certain what the phrase "real wages" meant, but he is sure of the need for a "real wage scale."

Perhaps the most important development yesterday was Dudai's admission that the wage agreement with the doctors last year has legitimate ramifications for the rest of the public service workers. The agreement exceeded the ceiling of the public sector framework agreement, leading to demands for wage hikes from throughout the sector.

Both sides expressed the desire to conclude the negotiations before the Knesset elections. Dudai said that he believed an agreement could be reached this month.

In reply to a reporter's question, Haberfeld said that he did not see any connection between the current wave of labour unrest in both the public and private sectors and "what was discussed in this room." However, a speedy agreement will benefit the entire economy, he added.

## Israeli, Egyptian scientists to meet

By LIORA MORIEL

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
BEERSHEBA — An Israeli scientific delegation will tomorrow meet its Egyptian counterpart in San Diego to discuss a joint agricultural project funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) Professor Haim Forgacs, acting director of the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev's Institutes for Applied Research, told *The Jerusalem Post* this week.

The Israeli and Egyptian delegates will be joined by members of the San Diego State University Foundation, through which AID funnels funds for the five-year, \$5 million project which is one of the fruits of the Camp David accords.

The project is not well-publicized here for security reasons. Although (as has been published in *The Post* recently) two Egyptians are known to be here to study Israeli methods of desert farming, their names are not available for publication to protect them on their return to Egypt.

The three Israeli heads of sub-projects concerned with desert agriculture are Dr. Dov Pasternack and Meir Forti, of the Institutes, and

Prof. Amos Dovrat of the Hebrew University. They will be joined by Yoel Shechter, the Institutes' director, who is on sabbatical in San Diego.

Pasternack's sub-project (he is also the project's coordinator) is using brackish underground water for irrigation. So far, the sub-project involves tomatoes and melons.

Forti's sub-project is the introduction of new plants for industrial uses (common industrial plants are cotton and jojoba.) Dovrat is in charge of a sub-project involving growing grazing-bushes in arid zones.

## Kollek says health services may close

Jerusalem's family-health centres and health services in the public schools will have to be closed if the Health Ministry does not pay the \$3.4 million it owes the municipality, Mayor Teddy Kollek yesterday warned Health Minister Eliezer Shostak. The debt is for 1982-1984, the mayor wrote in his letter.

The ministry spokesman was not available for comment last night.

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# The Post's Mark Segal looks at the state of the major parties at the start of the election campaign.

LIKE WRESTLERS who have finished limbering up in the preliminaries, our political parties are now waiting anxiously for the opening bell of the main event. Judging by past performances, the campaign for the 11th Knesset is likely to be a catch-as-catch-can affair, with both sides tossing their seconds' advice to the winds and ending up in a free-for-all slugfest. The result is almost certain to be full of dramatic surprises.

The campaign of 1984 will doubtless represent another stage in the Americanization of our electoral process, although the French term "Coca-Colaization" might be more *à propos*. A cursory look at both major parties' preliminary plans indicates that the electioneering will be loaded, if not dominated, with the latest in image-making gimmickry. If in the early years our elections were "Mapai versus the Rest," 1984 will be dominated by two nearly-equal combatants, the Likud and the Labour Alignment, with the smaller lists realistically expecting to grab little more than the scraps.

The campaign will also reflect the post-charismatic period of our political leadership, with the Likud doing its best to make up for the absence of ex-premier Menachem Begin, who certainly dominated the 1981 elections. The Likud organizers may or may not finally succeed in persuading Begin to appear on television in the final phase of the campaign in order to coax the waverers back into the Likud fold.

Both sides concede that the fate of the elections and their leaders' capacity to form the next coalition government hinges on the floating voters. Consequently, the primary thrust of their efforts at persuasion will be aimed at this pivotal voting bloc.

Labour's chief campaign manager, Mordechai Gur and the Likud's deputy campaign chief, Tourism Minister Avraham Shari, both enunciate their party's intention of concentrating on one another and ignoring the smaller parties. The argument is that they are asking the nation for a clear mandate on life-and-death issues and on the moulding of the country's future.

This brings the strategist of the newest party, Yahad secretary-general Avraham (Abraham) Tamir, to chuckle that, "We let the Likud and Labour do our work for us by letting them attack each other. Then we will tell the public that they are both right."

THE BIG PARTIES will start their campaigns with a different style - Shari speaks of the Likud getting going after Shavuo with "a big bang, to let all and sundry know we're on the map," which will be formulated after consultations involving Premier Yitzhak Shamir. For his part, Gur speaks of a low-key start to the Labour campaign, using this week-end's long-planned seminar of campaign workers at the party college at Beit Berl for this purpose.

But even though both parties are aiming at the middle, the floating vote, they have put proponents of extreme positions in key roles. That's the case with Labour, where leftist MK Yossi Sarid has been co-opted into the campaign's innermost circles. And it is even more the case in the Likud, where Ronnie Milo is in charge of information.

Milo has already served notice that he intends to make political capital of the case of Ya'acov Levinson, using the problems of the late



## Campaign directions

Bank Hapoalim chief as ammunition against Labour. Together with MKs David Magen and Meir Cohen-Avidov, Milo apparently feels that Labour criticism of the government's performance, whether in Lebanon or with 400 per cent inflation, can be countered by raising up the spectre of the dead banking executive and by recalling the case of Ehud Adiv, the ex-kibbutznik now serving a jail term for espionage. That, observers say, would be the equivalent of a formal adoption of the "department of dirty tricks" as a legitimate, mainstream campaign operation.

For his part, Motta Gur is bewildered that a key Likud figure like Milo could contemplate involving Levinson's name in the campaign as a major issue. "For the life of me, I don't understand the reasoning. It's not as if he's here to answer back, or that he's a candidate for office if Labour should form the next government. All that Milo will do by such mud-slinging is to hurt Levinson's widow and his sons."

THE TWO big parties plan different kinds of campaigns. Gur is sceptical about the efficacy of the kind of mass open-air rallies that characterized the 1981 elections. He has also been very budget-conscious, in striking contrast to the sprawling and costly 1981 operation. Gur has packed most divisions into party headquarters at 110 Rehov Hayarkon in Tel Aviv, which currently seems to be bursting at the seams. There is little of the aimless scurrying that one encountered in the rambling corridors of the 1981 HQ at the old Dvora Hotel.

Labour insiders think that the thrifty-conscious Gur was an ideal choice for campaign manager, prompting some people to say he might be a good choice for finance minister should Labour form the next cabinet.

"I hope that we've all learned from our campaign experience that spending big does not mean big results," says the former chief-of-staff. "Just as I did in the army, I am following the rule that the bigger the outlay, the more the reason for me to handle the job and not to contract it out."

At this early juncture, it appears that Labour is better organized than the Likud, largely because of Gur. He is aided by the fact that the established party leadership, appreciative that 1984 could be their "Last Hurrah," has avoided the personal feuding that went on in both 1977 and 1981.

CANVASSING DISSENTING opinions among my Labour sources, I was interested to find general praise for Gur's performance so far, with some people wondering whether Peres would be able to restrain himself for long from interfering in Gur's operation. When I compare the initial set-up on the other side of town at the Likud campaign HQ, Metzudat Ze'ev on King George Street, I find that the Likud operation is still beset by internal factionalism. There has been much criticism in Herut of the initial performance of campaign chief David Levy and of the level of his decision-making. Indeed, so many questions have been raised that people are doubting Levy's capacity to manage the job. But it should be remembered that Herut factionalism today resembles Labour factionalism at its worst in 1981. Liberal Avraham Shari, however, speaks highly of the Herut campaign chief's abilities, saying that Levy knows how to get on with people and how to run a harmonious outfit.

It seems that the bitter Herut infighting has affected the campaign operation with Premier Shamir intervening against Levy's disinclination to offer Ariel Sharon a key role in the campaign. Has the talent of Sharon's lieutenants for disinformation helped to improve relations with Levy and Yoram Aridor? Instead of being given an outline of strategy

against Labour, the listener hears from the warring Herut factions gossip about Sharon or Levy (pick the appropriate name according to faction) "really" banking on a Labour victory in order to achieve their design of replacing Shamir as party leader.

Metzudat Ze'ev is also seething with resentment at the way Levy and Aridor let the Keshet-Baril agency go to Labour. That firm brilliantly handled the Likud account in the 1981 Histadrut and Knesset elections and in the 1983 municipal campaign. Criticism was also levelled at

Milo for having allowed this to happen, but the pals of Shamir's lieutenant say he could do little once Aridor insisted on bringing in the Tal-Arroyo agency, which had a so-so performance with the "Citizens for Peres" in 1981.

They say Aridor was influenced by the presence on the agency staff of such good friends of his family as account executive Limor Livnat and junior partner Rachel Kremerman.

But the constant reminder by the polls of a 12-14 point gap in Labour's favour should have a miraculously sedative effect on Likud squabbling.

SEASONED campaigner Gideon Gadot, who played top-level roles in the 1981 Knesset vote and the 1983 municipal election drives, says that the Likud will still rely on big rallies, with Premier Shamir, Deputy Premier Levy and Sharon as the main attractions. Sharon, Gadot assured me, had agreed to address the rallies, despite his continuing complaint about being left out of a top role in the electioneering apparatus.

Noting that Labour would eschew big meetings and place the emphasis on parlor meetings, Gadot added with not a small measure of sarcasm: "It's no wonder. They don't have the people to put into the field. In that area, Shimon Peres is our asset."

The big blocs will focus on each other, then, almost ignoring the smaller blocs. Ezer Weizman's secretary-general Abrasha Tamir explains why. "For both their leaderships, it's a matter of 'to be or not to be.' For us in Yahad, it is a question of establishing ourselves on the political map." But Yahad is concerned whether it can translate Weizman's unquestioned popularity into votes on July 23. Tamir and other key men in the Yahad campaign speak of balls packed by the drawing power of their candidate, particularly in development towns.

While a new party Yahad will get only 10 minutes on TV, each of the big parties will have about 200 minutes of TV electioneering and 500-plus minutes of radio time.

Motta Gur appreciates that the little screen will play a dominant role in the parties' assault on the electorate's minds and hearts. But, Gur is quick to point out, "TV isn't everything." Nevertheless, he has been devoting much time to readying the party's TV campaign, personally viewing videotapes of all the 1981 broadcasts in an attempt to avoid that year's technical and policy mistakes.

This time, Gur says, Labour won't be showing so many politicians, including himself, but will focus on ordinary people to get their message across.

Gur has also fashioned an "instant-response" apparatus for the campaign. He has advised the media people that whenever any changes are required at any hour of the day, they have to submit them to him. The general trend of campaign poli-

cy is to be formulated by the top-level forum with the nitty-gritty details worked out by the information people, led by Moshe Shabai, with Simha Dinitz in charge of TV, and radio handled by the Keshet-Baril staff.

From other sources, I learned that the entire campaign set-up is closely following the blueprint laid down by Yisum, a firm specializing in campaign organization. Its head, Y. Borak, acts as Gur's professional watchdog. Labour has also hired Dan Shilon to be in one of its TV producers, and there's talk of importing top professional Ralph Inbar, now with Dutch TV.

Despite the loss of Keshet-Baril, the Likud retains much of its 1981 media team, including Nathan Braun, Gadot and his expert assistant, Menachem Dotan. They have set up their own production unit, together with the Roli Film firm with which they worked in previous elections.

Both sides concur that the printed media will also play a key role in the initial build-up. The Likud's message will undoubtedly focus on its Land of Israel policy, warning that any territorial compromise will harm the country's security. Labour will argue that the Likud threatens the Jewish state's character.

Interestingly, Labour campaigners have discovered that many more people than they originally thought do not wish to hear blanket criticism of the war in Lebanon.

While the Likud will play security issues, Labour will undoubtedly focus on the little man's worry about the inflationary economy and the fate of his savings.

WHEN I MET Gur in his office, he was still shaken by his experience with Tel Aviv high school students, who showed a clear preference for the Likud, and even Tehiya, over Labour. His speech had been interrupted by a chorus of "Begin, Begin." "The mood is one of despair, that all the world is against us. There is a predominant sentiment for settling complex problems by force alone. I know these youngsters can't vote, but they reflect a certain national mood, and Sharon and Rafi speak in their language," Gur said. "Yet what should worry both parties are the words of a youngster at that school debate. 'We're fed up with both of you. We want something new.'"

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# Begin keeps them guessing

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



Menachem Begin.



Abba Eban.



Pessah Grupper.



Avraham Tamir.



King Fahd.

RUMOURS of dirty tricks departments and secret weapons already fill the air, on the eve of next week's opening in earnest of the campaign for the 11th Knesset. Much of the talk centres on Likud efforts to get Menachem Begin to make a dramatic, and perhaps crucial, TV appearance during the campaign's final fortnight.

According to the best of sources, party men have been hard at work for some time, in an attempt to convince the former prime minister to make one final contribution to his party's cause. Begin, it is said, has been promised he won't have to end his isolation to make the broadcast: TV crews will be brought to the Yefeh Nof residence in which Begin has remained confined for many, many months.

Begin's old associate, Dr. Yohanan Bader, has been one of the few people to argue consistently that the Herut founding father would finally come to his party's rescue. I've now heard, somewhat belatedly, that Michael Fiedler, director of the British Conservative Friends of Israel, phoned Begin around Independence Day and got the impression that the former premier would indeed take part in the Likud campaign.

MEANWHILE, dissension among Begin's heirs and heirs presumptive became very public this week. More and more party insiders have been pinning the "spoiler" label on Arik Sharon, and some Herutniks feel that their party will pay a heavy price for Arik's exclusion, first from a portfolio in the Yitzhak Shamir government, and later from the Herut/Likud election campaign. Arik's loyal legions accuse Deputy Premier David Levy, the Likud campaign chief, of devoting more energy to

excluding Arik than to fighting Labour. In reply Levy's backers say that Sharon is "undermining party leadership."

Some people at Metzudat Ze'ev, the Herut HQ, are murmuring out loud that Sharon is counting on a Labour victory July 23 to vault him into the party leadership. As evidence, they point to Arik's interview with NBC-TV this week, in which American viewers heard Arik say: "Given Israel's democracy, I'm likely to be picked as a candidate for the premiership."

ARIK WAS understandably unhappy to read that Shamir had ruled him

out of a top job in the next cabinet. Should the incumbent be his own successor in the Prime Minister's Office, Sharon reportedly phoned Shamir for an explanation, and was told that Knesset faction head Ronnie Milo would make a suitable statement. That did not satisfy Sharon. I'm told, and the result was the unusual Monday night statement on *Mabat*, from the PM's office, saying that "someone is trying to cause a rift between Minister Sharon and myself."

MORE DISCORD. The controversy over army pay rises has caused the first open rift between two old allies. Defence Minister Moshe Arens and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad. The latter was isolated in opposing the increases, and was disappointed that Shamir did not come to his rescue.

A NEW MEMBER has been added to the Shamir inner circle, according to Herut sources. He's Eliezer Zurabin of the Dahaf ad agency, like the premier a former member of Lehi, and the king-maker, with Ezer Weizman, in the Likud's successful 1977 election campaign. Zurabin, who was less successful as Shimon Peres' prime advertising and PR adviser in 1981, is said to have sold Shamir on the low-profile technique used by Begin in 1977.

OLD FRIENDS DEPT. Sharon is said to have made a key phone call to Liberal leader Yitzhak Moda'i during the recent Gahal revision crisis. That's quite natural, since Moda'i was Arik's commander during the

War of Independence. I've been told that the two men have been quite close ever since.

Some insiders contend that the pair have joined forces against Arik's party rivals. Which might well explain Moda'i's charge on TV last weekend, that "Levy and Yoram Aridor have the death wish."

BEST-LAID PLANS. Prof. Yaldir Plessner, former deputy governor of the Bank of Israel and a close Aridor adviser when the latter was finance minister, said this week that the October 1983 bank-share collapse was engineered by the Treasury. In a *Yedioth Aharonot* interview, Plessner claimed that the plot was for a shock treatment intended to pave the way for the stillborn (and perhaps comedy born-again?) "dollarization" scheme.

INFORMATION GAPS. Yossi Sarid is said to have less influence over the Labour information campaign than he tells friendly newsmen, but Ronnie Milo is certainly dominating the Likud's PR efforts. Milo's chief aide is Tzachi Hanegbi, the son of Tehiya MK Gula Cohen. The firebrand Hanegbi, you'll recall, hit the headlines during his rowdy term as head of the Israel Students Union, and during the Yamit evacuation, when he urged IDF soldiers to disobey their commanders' orders.

MULTIPLE MOUTHPIECE DEPT. There seems to be an abundance of spokesmen at the Labour Party summit, with each of the top men retaining his own man to deal

with press relations. Yitzhak Rabin has borrowed Yossi Kichick from the World Zionist Organization; Yitzhak Navon has hired ex-Israeli TV man Avi Gut; and Shimon Peres is working with Amiram Nir, the former military correspondent of Israel TV.

Meanwhile, Labour campaign chief Mordechai (Motta) Gur has taken on Shmuel Algrably as his campaign spokesman. Algrably, an observant Jew, is not available on the Sabbath, when someone has to take over for him.

WHILE Abba Eban had insisted that there was no need for Labour to discuss the granting of the shadow foreign affairs portfolio until after the votes are counted, Navon's supporters had different ideas. They demanded — and got — Peres to go public with his commitment to the ex-president, which he did in Ashdod. We have learned that Peres is considering splitting off the *hasbara* function from the Foreign Ministry, with an eye towards making Eban minister of information.

BOOK TALK. A juicy literary scandal and a possible court case, has erupted over Arie Averbach's just-published *The Liberal Connection* (Zmora, Bitan). Seems that the last chapter of the *Yedioth Aharonot* writer's book quotes liberally from the doctoral thesis of Yossi Beilin, the Labour spokesman who also lectures in political science at Tel Aviv University. After discovering that Averbach had obtained a copy of the thesis, "Inter-generation rifts in three Israeli parties," Beilin saw an attorney. Claiming that Averbach never asked permission, Beilin says that the material is part of his own upcoming book, *Sons in the Shadow of their Fathers*, due out next month under the Revivim imprint.

MARK-MAKING DEPT. Menachem Savidor will not be speaker of the 11th Knesset, but he certainly will leave his imprint on our parliament. A new gate, ordered by Savidor after a protesting soldier drove into the members' parking area, has already been given a name by Tami Deputy Absorption Minister Bezalel Rubin — the Savidor Gate.

WHO CARES DEPT. Neither the Likud nor Labour was interested in using the Committee for Concerned Citizens' bulletin to reach 2,000 English-speaking households, says diligent CCC director Zedda Harris. But Shinui and Yahad accepted the offer. Zvi Rimoni, the spokesman of Ezer Weizman's party, told me that he'd jumped at the opportunity.

A HIGH-LEVEL Bulgarian Communist Party delegation, led by assistant head of its international department, Yordan Kirov, arrived this week as guests of Rakah chief Meir Wilner. This follows two Soviet friendship missions already this year, plus Hungarian scholars and

Lloyd-Jones, who dazzled the audience with a dissertation comparing the ancient Greeks' struggle for independence to that of modern Israel. Honorary Fellowships were also awarded to ex-Netanya mayor Oved Ben-Ami, veteran investment banker and World War II hero John Furman, Dutch Zionist leader Herbert Cohen, and Delek director Emmanuel Racine. They all then attended an out-door reception hosted by university president Moshe Many and his wife, Amira. At midweek, the Paris-based magazine *Jeune Afrique*, claimed that Prof. Many, one of Israel's top urologists, has been regularly treating King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. When I asked university spokesman Asaf Avnati for her boss' comment, I got a terse reply from the professor: "Absolute balderdash."

MASSSES of guests including Defence Minister Moshe Arens flocked to the Herzliya residence of West German Ambassador Niels Hansen and his wife, Barbara, for West Germany's 35th Constitution Day.

ITALIAN EMBASSY — counsellor Giulio Priglione gave a farewell dinner in honour of the Swiss No. 2, Marco Andre Salamin. The guests included Swiss Ambassador Pierre-Yves Simonin.

OLE DEPT. The Mexican Festival got off to a foot-stamping start at the Jerusalem Hilton on Wednesday night. Highlights of the evening were an hour-long performance by the 22-member Ballet Gran Folklorico de Mexico, and a seven-course Mexican feast prepared by visiting chef Alicia de Agell, gastronomic adviser to the Mexican Tourism Ministry, and Hilton executive chef Avi Bruhn.

Among the audience of invited guests were Mexican Ambassadors Raul Valdes Aguilar, and Miss Rocle Sandoval, representing the Mexican Ministry of Tourism. The Israeli contingent included former Knesset clerk Netanel Lorch, now head of the Israel-Latin American Cultural Relations Institute; Tat-Nitzav Rahamin Comfort, the Jerusalem police commander; and Broadcasting Authority director-general Uri Perat.

A ONE-WOMAN delegation of the Ireland-Israel Friendship League, Jeanie Gilbert this week called at Beit Hanassi to present our Irish-born President Chaim Herzog with a volume of *Treasures of Irish Art*.

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SEED KOSMAN: "American Dreams in Conflict"  
4.00 p.m. Afternoon session  
ALAN BRINKLEY: The Mission Motive in American Zionism  
SHAN SCHWIDT: Horace Kallen and the Americanization of Zionism  
8.00 p.m. Evening program  
JOSEPH BOSKIN: The American Dream: A View from the Underclass  
Film: "Hollywood — the Dream Factory" and "America as the Movies"

**Tuesday, June 5, 1984**  
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# Profile of an underground

By DAVID RICHARDSON/Jerusalem Post Reporter

MESSIANISM, intense nationalism and a fixation with security are central elements in the ideology of Gush Emunim. An analysis of the profiles and apparent motives of the members of the alleged Jewish terrorist organization now facing proceedings in a Jerusalem court indicates that while these elements were shared by the 25 accused, individuals and groups among them stressed different aspects.

Any attempt to present a schematic breakdown of the alleged conspirators by crime, motivation, age or place of residence is probably misleading. After all, the "underground" as it has been popularly dubbed, was formed in 1978, although its first alleged "action" as such was the attempted assassination of West Bank mayors and other radical figures in June 1980—exactly four years ago.

Several of the accused, particularly those known to be close to the apparent co-founder/leader of the group, respondent No. 2 from Ofra, seem to have been motivated by a deep, mystical belief in restoring the Temple Mount to Jewish hands. A court order still forbids publication of the respondents' names.

Whether this was present in all its intensity in the early days of the underground or became more powerful and dangerous as the individuals, intoxicated with the idea, delved deeper and deeper into the

religious literature on the subject, has still to emerge.

It is clear, however, that the plan to remove the mosques of Omar and Al-Aksa as a prelude to the construction of the Third Temple does include the largest number of plotters—20.

In unofficial reports that have so far emerged from the police lock-up in the Russian Compound, some of the suspects, it appears, were largely motivated by political considerations and timing: they were confident that an attack of such a scale on such an emotionally significant target would be enough to put a stop to the peace process with Egypt and halt the withdrawal from Sinai.

For the more fundamentalist among the suspects, however, these considerations were apparently secondary. The essential aim was to remove the "anathema" of Moslem mosques from "His place" on earth.

For others allegedly involved in the attacks on the mayors, the planned mass-sabotage of the buses, the attack on the Islamic University in Hebron and isolated attacks on mosques and a school in the city, politics and tactics appear to have been

dominant. In many of these cases there was a base desire for revenge and, it seems, blatant anti-Arab racism.

The planned sabotage of the five buses in Jerusalem was intended to avenge the earlier terrorist attacks in Jerusalem and near Ashkelon and also to terrorize the local Arab population into complete passivity or even provoke their emigration.

ANOTHER very obvious characteristic shared by the accused is the apparently searing formative experience of their contacts with Rabbi Moshe Levinger and the early days of settlement against all odds in Kiryat Arba.

For many of the leading figures in the alleged underground, Hebron, Kiryat Arba and Moshe Levinger were a crucible which forged them, within 10 years, into perhaps the most serious subversive organization in Israel's history.

Respondents 1, 5, 6 and 10 were all with Levinger in the early days of his unrelenting struggle to return to

Hebron. They went on to become reasonably established and even wealthy settlers, but remained second-echelon activists within the movement.

Behind the scenes, however, they were taking the settlers, and perhaps the country with them, to an extreme many predicted would endanger the entire Zionist dream.

This at least emerges from the charges submitted to the court and the intense public debate surrounding the case.

Like other subversive organizations, the "Jewish terrorist underground" appears to have comprised the classic structure of a leadership, an operative arm and a body of willing or even gullible accomplices who provided intelligence and other secondary services.

According to the charge sheet, respondent No. 1, from The Jewish Quarter in Hebron emerges as the undoubtedly master-mind. He apparently conceived all of the attacks, together with either respondent No.

2 (the Temple Mount and the attacks on the mayors) or respondent No. 3 (the Islamic University, the attempted bus sabotage and the attacks on the Hebron mosques) and others.

He recruited, trained, guided and even prepared the explosives; and appears to be the only person who knew the entire extent of each operation. Nonetheless, he never participated personally in any of the attacks fearing, perhaps, that he was under surveillance.

The organization did not, as was originally expected, have the classic cell-structure adopted by so many undergrounds, where each member knows only two or three immediate associates. Rather, it appears to have been an ad hoc, large and perhaps even somewhat cumbersome organization concentrated in Hebron and Ofra, with tentacles stretching out to the Golan and elsewhere in the West Bank and Jerusalem.

THE MOST prominent "operative figure" was respondent No. 3 who

participated actively in every incident barring the first—the attack on the mayors. At that time, he was apparently still a soldier and not a member of the organization. He is even accused of conducting his own "private" campaign in the 1982 bombing of a school playground in Hebron.

Other "activists" particularly those accused of responsibility for the attacks on the mayors, dropped out of the picture, probably because of the intense nature of the security service's investigation of the case.

It was only those who had taken part in the unsuccessful and therefore undetected, attempts on radical Palestinian nationalists Ibrahim Dakkak and Mustafa Narshe who resurfaced in subsequent operations.

Alleged accomplices were numerous and generally young. They were recruited to reconnoitre targets; steal and acquire arms and explosives and transport them to various locations.

Now, with the benefit of some hindsight provided by the charge

sheets and facts emerging about the investigation, it seems that its predecessors in history, committed classic errors.

First and most important, it could not resist the temptation to carry out more than one attack. Its alleged leaders went on planning and executing bigger and more ruthless operations—for which they had to recruit more and more people, not all of whom were perhaps as reliable—until they were caught.

FINALLY their increasing brazenness and the inevitable phenomenon of copy-cat attacks began to alienate them from the background against which they had managed to operate and remain undetected.

Their smug conviction that they were "doing things the state approved of but could not do itself" led to over-confidence.

Mao Tse Tung, a great theorist of modern guerrilla warfare, talked of the need for "a sea for the fishes to swim in." Guerrillas and terrorists, he noted, cannot survive in a totally hostile environment. Everyone needs occasional support and contact.

Unfortunately, given the aggressive justification and apologetics of settlers and their supporters in the government, it seems there is still a great deal of sea for many more fishes to swim in.

## A kibbutz perspective

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH/Jerusalem Post Reporter

He found in a random survey little of either. The distance between most of those who agreed to be interviewed and apologists for the underground—indeed between them and Gush Emunim—was so great as to negate any sense of identification other than the fact that they happened to be religious. Instead of anguish there was bafflement, and if there was need for soul searching, it was the nation's or Gush Emunim's need, not that of the religious community as such or of the religious settlement movement.

"I believe they incorrectly understood the Torah they learned," says Binyamin Salant. "That is a

very strong condemnation, the strongest that can be made."

Says Yehuda Bart, one of the more left-leaning members of the kibbutz: "Mysticism is a very shaky foundation for a world view. It is beyond the intellect, and in its name things can be done that we cannot permit."

Benzi Landau, close to Gush Emunim and personally acquainted with most of those arrested, finds it impossible to grasp the line of thought that would allegedly lead these people to put bombs under Arab buses that would fill with women and children. "It's a mystery. None of us believed it could

come to this."

SA'AD AFTER work hours is an island of deep tranquility, living, it seems, in a permanent Sabbath peace. "I sometimes think we're cut off from the problems outside," says Bart. He is playing chess on his porch with his cronies, men with *kippot* in their fifties, a time being used to test their ability to move quickly.

"Gush Emunim is eating the fruit of what it planted," he says. "They were already past their peak and they've been badly hurt by this. On the one hand, many of their key people have been arrested and they're going to be missed. On the other, the remaining leaders are hurt that this could happen under their noses without their being consulted. There are today groups in the Gush that don't speak the same language. I think they are going through a serious period of soul-searching."

Only a small minority at Sa'ad—barely a *minyana*—identify with Gush Emunim, says Bart. Benzi Landau is one of them. Others at Sa'ad who may share similar views refuse to talk to a journalist. "What we say may harm them," says one

woman, speaking of those arrested—but Landau, a genial man who serves as secretary of the kibbutz school, is more open. "I know the people arrested. They are exceptional people, moral people."

Then how could they have done what they have reportedly admitted to doing—planning the murder of innocent people? Landau shakes his head in puzzlement. "I ask myself how? I want to hear what they say. I believe that at some point there was a mistake, a thought process that wasn't straight." He distinguishes between the planned bombing of the buses and the attacks on the West Bank mayors, whom he does not see as innocent. But he is not condoning that attack either.

BINYAMIN SALANT, returning from his job as head of the kibbutz popcorn growing branch, settles into a porch chair after showering. His mother-in-law, visiting from England, is sitting there too, drinking tea.

"For me, the primary aspect is the halachic aspect," he says. "From a Jewish point of view, you don't harm innocent people. If this weren't enough, there is the moral humanistic aspect. Finally, you don't take the law into your own hands."

The slide had begun at Yamit, says Salant. Knesset members who today condemn the alleged underground had encouraged opposition to the government and army at Yamit.

"The most difficult thing for me is that this occurred among religious people. The religious are expected to think more deeply, and the moral burden on them is heavier. This does not reflect the attitude of the national religious camp. This grew out of a certain stream in Gush Emunim. They didn't understand that the Torah relates to man in the most humane way."

Is there not a danger, Salant was asked, that if men of the calibre of the alleged underground participants did not understand this mes-

sage, that a much broader stream shared their thought process. "I don't think so. Kahane and his followers don't understand the Torah either, and they have remained a negligible minority on the fringe. To my mind, they are not religious. I would say they are not even Jewish. I don't see this (underground) spreading either."

It was important for Arab moderates—"and I know there is a moderate camp"—to condemn Arab terrorism, he says, if we are ever to aspire to peace. Such condemnations, Salant believes, would "lessen the inclination here for negative actions."

As for the Israeli side, the conclusion the government and Gush Emunim should draw from the episode is to stress even more the teaching of humanistic values. "We have to emphasize the value of man as such, no matter whether he is Jewish or not. Man was created in God's image."

WHO GAVE THEM the right? Who gave them the right to decide for themselves on matters of life and death? asks former Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren with excitement at the members of the alleged Jewish underground.

Goren, who is in the process of publishing a book on the halachic aspects of fighting and defence, much of it dating back to the period when he served as the Israel Defence Forces chief chaplain, is intensely concerned with Jewish morality in this area.

"No one can decide on matters of life and death without the proper authority, he stresses.

"I don't care if they are dedicated, if they believe in what they are doing. If they did what the police claim they did, they had no justification. 'Of course, I don't believe everything the police claim either,' he says, indicating that past experience has taught him to be wary of statements from that branch.

But he stresses again that for an individual or a group—especially if they claim to be God-fearing—to decide for themselves that someone, anyone, must die, is unthinkable.

"I'd like to know what authorized forum of rabbis they asked and who ruled that you can kill people at random, that you can say this man or that child should lose his life?"

GOREN TRACES the sort of thinking that led to the Jewish underground back to Yamit, when there was talk of some of those opposed to evacuating the area committing suicide. At the time, he wrote a number of strong letters to those involved. In them, he ruled uncon-

## The role of the rabbi

By HAIM SHAPIRO/Jerusalem Post Reporter



Shlomo Goren... "Who gave them the right?" (Rubinger)

promisingly that they were being swayed by the forces of evil and would, if they carried their threat

through or encouraged others to do so, lose their place in the world to come.

In this context, Goren recalls the biblical episode where Shimon and Levi kill the men of Shechem for violating their sister Dina, thus incurring the wrath of their father Jacob, not only at the time of the incident, but lasting until his dying day, when cursed them on his deathbed.

In such matters, the rabbi points out, we are bound not only by Halacha, but by a higher moral code that enjoins us to be more moral than others. Who were the sons of Jacob to act independently, when their father was there to advise them?

Today, Goren notes, there are rabbis to consult, but he issues a word of caution. Not everyone who calls himself rabbi is worthy of the title. As long ago as the time of Maimonides, the scholar noted that in the Land of Israel there were those who called themselves *haver* or *rosh yeshiva* (yeshiva head) who could not claim as much knowledge as even a student on his first day.

Now too, Goren points out, anyone can simply receive a piece of paper from a rabbi granting him the title. During his tenure as chief rabbi, Goren adds, he attempted to institute oral and written tests for rabbinical candidates. The tests are given, he says, but that doesn't stop those who don't take them from assuming the title.

"A real rabbi, he adds, must assume not only the privileges, but also the responsibility, of setting a moral example. Nor are his options unlimited. A yeshiva head, for example, may not rule on Halacha for the public, but must restrict himself to teaching his students and show them a personal example of the utmost morality.

With that, he adds, a true rabbi should have immunity similar to that of a Knesset member of judge, or perhaps even more far-reaching. As long as he is not clearly guilty of an offence, arresting such a person is an infringement of the honour of the Torah. A people who respects its religious leaders cannot afford such actions.

ON THE OTHER HAND, Goren is clear and precise when it comes to a rabbi, or anyone else for that matter, allowing a crime to be committed by respecting a confidence.

"If I know a crime is going to be committed, I must prevent it at any price," he states flatly. "I must report it."

This is even more true if the potential crime could hurt Israel's image in the outside world, if it would impugn Israel's purity of arms.

Here he cites the case of Yohanan Ben Zakai, who during the Roman siege of Jerusalem had himself smuggled out of the city by a ruse and dealt with the Roman general Vespasian in an effort to stop the bloodshed and save the Temple.

With all that, Goren makes it clear that in the recent case of an Arab terrorist being clubbed to death after he was captured, he can sympathize with those who defend this act. True, he says, once we take an enemy prisoner he ought not to be touched until he is brought to a fair trial.

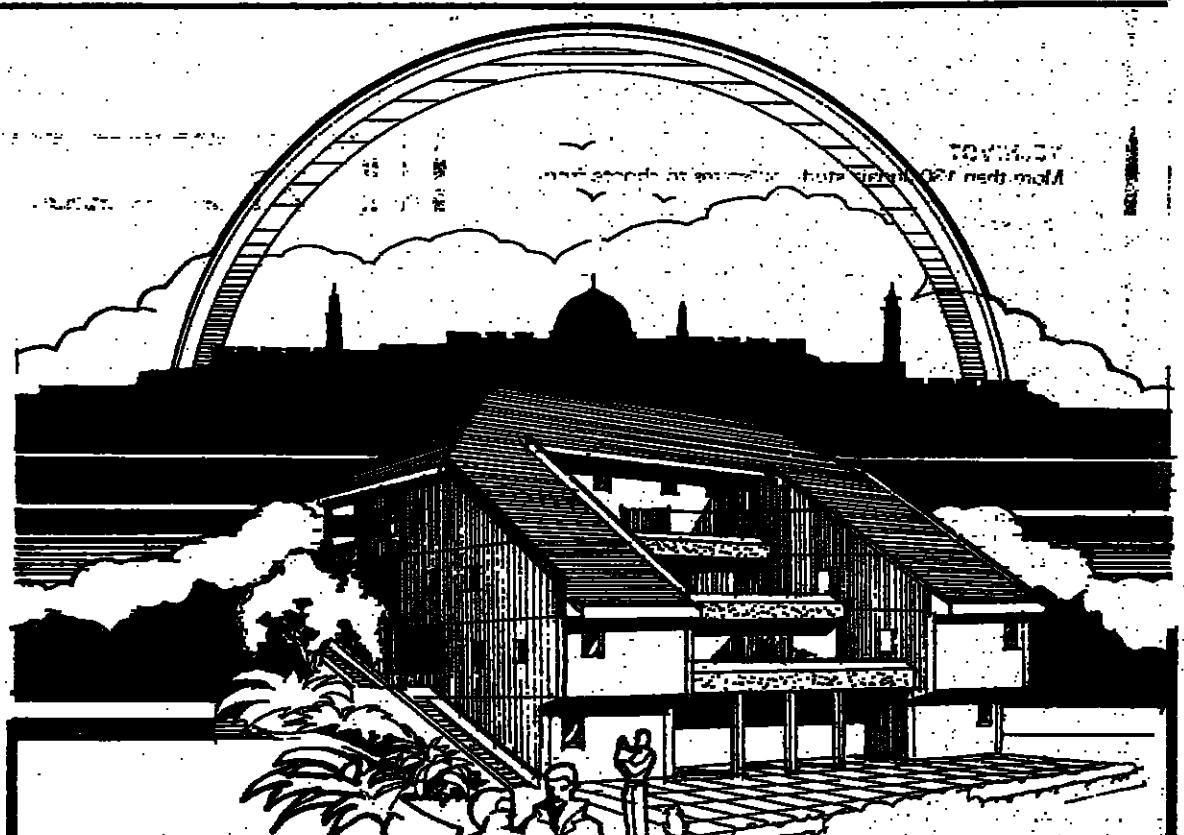
But what kind of fair trial is it, he asks, when the trial itself is turned into a joke? There is no greater punishment than life imprisonment, but then, after a year or two, murderers, who killed men, women and children are turned loose in exchange for Israelis taken captive.

No sentence has any validity if "they" can dictate to us who to release. At least, he added, something would be gained if the government ensured that, in the absence of the death penalty, those serving life terms would not go free.

Perhaps, he implies, we are making too much of the incident, the killing of the two Arab terrorists after their capture.

In the same way, he points out, he can sympathize with some of those who defend the Jewish underground. It is true, he says, that the Jewish settlers in the territories did not have adequate protection and that the police seemed to act like the British during the Mandate, ignoring the attackers and arresting the defenders.

It's the old story, he says, of "man bites dog." If a Jew is killed, no one thinks much of it; if an Arab is killed, there is a furor.



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SINCE THE second week of March the Iraqis have attacked over 40 tankers en route to load Iranian oil at Kharg Island. The Iraqis have responded by bombing oil facilities in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, including the largest oil-loading depot in the world at Ras Tanun.

At present there are some 80 tankers anchored at the entrance to the Gulf, instead of the usual 16. They are under orders from their governments and owners not to venture into unpredictable and perilous waters. Insurance rates have shot up from 0.75 per cent of the value of cargo and vessel to 7.5 per cent, pushing up insurance on the average tanker to about \$2m.

Though there has been no serious impact on the world oil market until now, the drop in supply resulting from sporadic transportation, rather than a reduced production, will be felt as the situation continues.

The Iraqi decision to attack oil shipping in the Gulf was an act of aggression. Saddam Hussein desperately wants the three-and-a-half million barrels a day of oil from the Persian Gulf. He is determined to continue until Hussein falls from power. The country's oil exports are essential if Iraq is to meet its debt payments. It has trickled to 0.85 million barrels a day, from 3.5 million barrels a day before the war.

All Iraqi oil shipments are going through Turkey, its Gulf refineries

# ISRAEL AND THE GULF

Herish Goodman examines the Gulf War from an Israeli perspective

having been destroyed by the Iraqis in the opening stages of the war, and the Syrians, at Iran's request, blocked the IPC line that carried Iraqi oil to the Mediterranean.

HUSSEIN MUST be taken seriously when he says that his intention is to lay siege to Kharg; and the Iraqis must be taken just as seriously when they say that they will fight to the death to prevent this from happening. Iranian exports are down to around one million barrels per day, from 1.6 million barrels before the Iraqis ignited the Gulf - this when the Iraqis need to export at least 1.5 million barrels per day in order to "finish the month."

Brinkmanship in the Gulf is at the brink. Iran needs the Gulf open to continue its war against Iraq; Iraq needs to close the Gulf, or at least seems determined to close the Gulf, if it is going to get Iran to end the war. In the background you have a nervous, though still secure, world oil market, currently drawing its needs from alternate sources of

supply in Libya, Mexico and Nigeria, and from prudently stored national and speculative reserves.

By moving the focus of the war from land to the sea, the Iraqis hope to jolt the war from the sidelines of international attention, to centre stage; while at the same time threaten Iran where it is most vulnerable oil exports.

Hussein himself probably does not believe that this new stage in the Gulf war will alone bring him a cessation of hostilities, but it will serve to bring other players into the arena, like the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, and that would add sinew to Hussein's flagging muscle and, perhaps, bring the Iraqis to their senses.

A secondary goal could be to try to get Iran to agree to a cease-fire in the Gulf that would enable Iraq to rebuild its destroyed oil exporting facilities at Shatt el Gharb. The repair work would be horrendously expensive, and before any work is started at all, the Iraqis would like an Iranian guarantee that these would be inviolate, no matter what course

the war could take. The absolute superiority Iran enjoys in naval power is another incentive for Hussein to seek a standoff in the Gulf.

A third reason for the recent escalation is the Iraqi hope that Iran will pressure the Syrians to open the IPC line, but Hussein understands that here Iranian influence is limited, given that Syria has its own problems with the Iraqis, which make President Hafez Assad loath to help in any way that could be helpful to Hussein. The experts are not in agreement as to how successful Iraq will be in achieving any of these goals, or as to how far they will go in pursuing them.

THE IRAQIS will go as far as the Iraqis allow them to. If the Iraqis continue to respond by hitting maritime targets of their own and Kuwaiti and Saudi Arabian oil facilities, Iraq may be forced to step down with no gains. On the other hand, if the U.S. and the Gulf states, as well as what the experts here call "the rational Arabs," pressure Iran to keep the war at the bi-lateral level,

rather than directly involve neighbouring countries in an affair they would rather have nothing to do with, then the Iraqis could come out on top.

The experts here nervously admit that they do not find it easy to predict what the immediate future will hold other than to say that the Iraqis will probably continue with the de facto blockade they have imposed on the Gulf. Few see much possibility of deep American intervention (only 12 per cent of U.S. oil comes from the Gulf, constituting less than three per cent of consumption), and predict that the Americans will confine their response to the correct diplomatic noises, coupled with suggestive moves on the ground that could be interpreted by the Iraqis as American resolve.

The impact on the world oil market will be gradual. It takes up to six weeks for cargos to reach their destinations, and the spot market in Rotterdam has been absorbing purchases being made by pessimists and realists who believe that the

situation in the Gulf can only get worse.

If the conflict remains within the confines of the northern Gulf the impact will be minimal: if it affects the entire Gulf the world will be short of 2.5 million barrels per day with Japan, which gets 70 per cent of its oil from the region, the main victim.

For Israel the consequences of what happens is of peripheral interest as far as the economics of the situation is concerned, but of vital interest in the strategic sense. If this war should end, the repercussions are obvious.

Iraq would be free to revert its attention back to the eastern front with a renewed anti-Zionist passion, and that no doubt will be one of the items for Iran to consider in weighing reconciliation. If the war continues, and continues to threaten Saudi Arabia and Gulf oil producers, Israel will be affected by the increased flow of American weapons to Saudi Arabia, an act by the U.S. Administration that would be hard

to fault, and hard to block through Congressional action.

BUT ON the positive side of things, if ever there was a scenario that strengthened the logic of having an American-Israeli strategic alliance, it is this one. No more propitious backdrop could have been provided for the talks in Washington last week between Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens and American officials on precisely the point of strategic cooperation.

What form this alliance will take will not doubt be dictated in no small way by an American reading of operational requirements should the Gulf situation deteriorate. Even if the situation stays precarious, stable, it generates enough concern for Israel and the U.S. to think seriously about what they have to offer each other in the long term. America needs Israel if this war continues. Israel will need America if it ends, and Iraq is again an integral part of the confrontation balance with Israel.

Whatever, the situation has highlighted the mutual need - something that has always been sold short by those who have claimed that the aid America has invested in building up a military infrastructure here was an act of charity, rather than an investment in protecting the interests of the West.

The writer is the defence correspondent of The Jerusalem Post.

WITH THE publication of the report of the Zorea Commission of Inquiry into the death of the two terrorists who were captured alive after the Ashkelon bus hijacking, it is now unmistakably clear that a serious error of judgment was made in the use of military censorship. Even after photographic evidence that gave credence to the possibility of wrongdoing had been published abroad, the military censor continued to prevent publication of the photographs and any reference to doubts about the manner in which the terrorists had been killed. The newspaper, *Hadashot*, was punished for publishing the fact of the appointment of the Zorea Commission, in defiance of the censor's ban.

What could have been the reason for the imposition of censorship? While there has been no authoritative answer to this question, the only apparent justification for the action taken would appear to be fear for the fate of Israel's prisoners in terrorist hands. As reported by Herish Goodman in *The Jerusalem Post* of May 29, "since reports leaked out that the two surviving terrorists might have been murdered, there has been fear among military circles here that harm may befall Israel's three prisoners of war being held by terrorists in Syria." It was abundantly evident from the outset that no military secrets in the strict sense of the term were involved.

The question must be asked whether the imposition of censorship protected the Israeli prisoners. Herish Goodman's report implies a negative response. "Now that the report has been published, and it is clear that those responsible for the deaths will be tried, Israeli officials said last night that they hoped this pressure would now be removed," he states. To the same effect is the statement of Minister of Defence Moshe Arens in a radio interview, as reported in *Haaretz*. Asked about the possible effect of the publication of the report on our prisoners, Arens replied that there need not be any effect, "and the fact is that there has not been any effect until now."

PUBLICATION, not secrecy, or rather the patently futile attempt at secrecy, would have contributed to the security of the Israeli prisoners. Once evidence of wrongdoing had appeared abroad, there should have been an immediate announcement of the intention to investigate the incident and to punish those culpable. There should have been an emphatic reaffirmation of Israel's policy with regard to terrorist prisoners and of its moral standards with regard to the purity of arms.

Once again, it has been demonstrated that secrecy, by blocking the flow of information from responsible sources, increases the currency of irresponsible rumours and adds to their credibility. The major effect of the imposition of censorship in the hijacking affair was to confirm that,

## Misuse of censorship

By ALLAN E. SHAPIRO

in fact, Israel had something to hide.

Circumstances that were public knowledge added to the harmful effects of the spurious secrecy imposed by military censorship. The presence of both Minister of Defence Arens and of Chief of Staff Moshe Levy at the scene of the hijacking had already been published. Wide publicity had already been given to the televised statement of the defence minister that terrorists could learn from the affair that they would not escape with their lives from terrorist attempts against Israel. Once photographic evidence had appeared in the *New York Times* that at least one terrorist had been captured apparently unharmed, the

avenue was open to anyone so inclined to reach the conclusion that Israel had in fact adopted a new policy, decided on at the highest level of authority and announced by Arens in his televised statement.

In the context of these circumstances, the imposition of military censorship only reinforced the most incriminating suspicions. As such, it materially added to the danger facing Israel's prisoners in hostile hands. Irresponsible statements in the Israeli press worsened matters. This newspaper published an article which contended that the fate of the

captured terrorists would not have been a matter of concern to Israelis in the '50s and '60s and that the British had killed Argentinians who had raised their hands in surrender during the Falkland Islands campaign. Not only was the Israel Defence Forces' traditional emphasis on the purity of arms disregarded, but the matter was treated as though of little consequence.

A decade ago, the then chief censor, Avner (Walter) Bar-On, emphasized the harmful effects of a futile attempt at secrecy with regard to terrorist actions within Israel. In November, 1974, terrorists took control of an apartment in the town of Beit She'an, killing the inhabi-

itants. After the army had taken control, a hysterical mob burned the bodies of the terrorists killed in the IDF attack. Foreign TV cameramen filmed the affair, and the telecasting abroad created a wave of adverse reaction. (The BBC televised only the burning of the corpses.)

Bar-On recorded in his published diary that he didn't know how he would have acted, even if he had been able to censor the film, as there was no damage to security or the revealing of secrets. As a result of this incident, however, the then minister of defence, Shimon Peres, gave instructions not to permit the presence of media representatives in places where an action against terrorists was underway.

BAR-ON immediately felt that this simply would not survive the trial of experience. The terrorist capture of the Savoy Hotel in Tel Aviv in March 1975 proved him correct. Because of the lack of authoritative information, "the city was inundated with various rumours and an air of panic began to prevail." As a result of the Savoy Hotel experience, Bar-On presented three recommendations:

When action against terrorists takes place in the presence of journalists and photographers, the sending of information should be permitted, even if the authorities do not yet have all the details;

The publication of an official announcement and maximum authenticated information should be expedited, so that Israeli and foreign journalists will not be forced to rely on unreliable, hostile sources; "If the army and the police are unsuccessful in preventing access of photographers to the site of the happening, there is no sense in forbidding the sending of photographs abroad."

These recommendations show a wealth of experience and worldly wisdom. Each was disregarded, in one way or another, by the imposition of military censorship in the hijacking affair. The conclusions are too obvious to require elaboration.

In the final stages of the Independence War, an incident occurred in which Israeli soldiers murdered Arab civilians. Tom Segev relates in his "1949 - The First Israelis" that Ben-Gurion directed that Nathan Alterman's poem "On That," based on the incident, be circulated amongst all units of the Israel Defence Forces. Its concluding stanza should be the guide to military censorship. In free translation, it is as follows:

"And the people's war, which stood without blemish against the seven legions of the kings of the East, will not be frightened off before 'Tell it not in Gath'... It is not so cowardly."

The writer is a political scientist.

## A test of survival

By LOUIS RAPOPORT

TODAY the abnormality that Zionism was supposed to cure has never been more evident, as Israel faces its greatest test since it came into being 36 short years ago. At stake is nothing less than survival.

The unconscionable attempts to justify the Jewish terrorist underground, the false messianism and idolatry of the religious and nationalist chauvinists, the racist hatred that could explode at any moment, the economic nightmare, the ghetto state in permanent war - are all symptoms of a dreadful disease, one that will soon prove fatal unless revolutionary methods are used to preserve Israel as a democracy.

Yet debate on the real issues only began in recent years and is still largely ignored. Earlier this week, about 80 people gathered at Jerusalem's Van Leer Institute to discuss a recently published book in Hebrew by a Tel Aviv University philosophy professor, Yosef Agassi, entitled *Between Religion and Nationality*.

The first speaker, writer A.B. Yehoshua, said that although he basically disagrees with much of what Agassi says, the work should be hailed for putting the primary issue on the table: the question of Israeli identity. This, said Yehoshua, is far more important than defence, the economy or anything else; it is a question of life and death. "Islam will exist in 100 years. Israel - I'm not so sure."

Agassi's book is based on the ideas of Hillel Kook, an Israeli maverick who became a "post-Zionist" the day Zionism's work was completed, May 15, 1948. His call, articulated by Agassi, is for basic surgery to separate Israeli nationality from the Jewish religion. Yehoshua described this doctrine, mistakenly, as a "kind of Canaanism."

Prof. Yeshayahu Leibowitz, who

also spoke, appeared to mix up the concept with that of the separation of religion and state - a necessary but far simpler operation.

What separation of religion and nationality means is that Jews outside Israel will no longer retain any national identity with Israel and would not be thought of as "the Jewish nation." Jews outside Israel would be Jews by religion or history or culture or ethnic background. There would be an end to Zionist obfuscation.

Ariel Sharon would not tell Argentine and English Jews that they should not fight for their nation: Yitzhak Navon would not tell American Jews that they are not really Americans; Israel would not look upon itself as only the vanguard for the rest of world Jewry. There would be no agreement with Golda Meir's idea "if it's only for three million, it's not worth it."

Israel would no longer be a project-in-progress but a nation, one that includes Moslems and Christians as part of the Israeli people. The Palestinians would be recognized as a people, not as "Arabs" - "Arab" is regarded as a nationality by the Israeli government as is "Jewish."

A.B. YEHOSHUA believes fervently that the Diaspora is "neurotic" and that Jews everywhere are one people. It would have been wrong to take the land from the Palestinians if it was only for a segment - not all - of the Jewish people, he said. (His general ideas on the subject are spelled out in his book *Between Right and Right*.) There's no question that the problem exists, but the real question, he says, is: would the operation be fatal?

In essence, the left-wing writer's position that "We Are One" is the

same as right-wing ideology: Israel Eldad's Zionism - Religious opinion, in general, also believes that separating nationality from religion would be disastrous. But another speaker at the meeting, Prof. Ya'acov Yehoshua, who is Orthodox, expressed support for the Agassi-Kook position, saying that it was essential "to free ourselves from the mythology." Separation would strengthen Judaism, not weaken it.

Playwright Yehoshua Sobol, another panel member, was deeply pessimistic. He spoke of the Jewish terror underground, which wanted to bring about the last Jihad by blowing up the Dome of the Rock. What the zealots are in fact bringing about is the end of Israel, he said, citing a poll in Tel Aviv that showed over 26 per cent of that city's population supported the underground.

Sobol said he believed Agassi was right, that the Jewish religion and Israeli nationality must be separated.

"The moment you base the state on the Bible, then Greater Israel is the logical end. It's dangerous, it makes people crazy." He too praised the new book for raising debate about fundamental questions.

The polarization taking place in Israeli society in 1984 is frightening to contemplate. Khomeinism and civil warfare lie directly ahead. Israel has never had the actual will to open itself up to a naturalization process, and now, it is worse - atavistic forces are about to try to grab control of the helm. Every individual Israeli will have to make the most critical of decisions in the coming months.

Unfortunately, not one of our political parties is dealing with the issues that at least some of the nation's leading intellectuals know lie at the heart of the matter.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

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# Bashir's legacy

By EDWARD GROSSMAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter



Pierre Yazbeck... 'You can't wager on anything' (Richard Lobell)

village in the Mountain behind Beirut had its chronicle of patriotism. Lebanese patriotism, as Yazbeck

would stifle the country in Arabism. The Lebanese Christians, Pierre Yazbeck's people, were a proud and fearful minority in their own country. They were afraid of the Moslem mobs with their Nasserite banners swarming in the streets of Beirut.

And when it became clear that Israel had beaten Nasser in the Six Day War - Yazbeck says that the memory gives him goose-bumps - all the churches in the Mountain rang their bells for joy.

The experts today say that the Lebanese arrangement, codified and frozen in the covenant of 1943, in which each religion and sect was given its unchangeable slice of the political pie, came apart after the Six Day War, when Palestinians with guns began turning the Switzerland of the Middle East into their base and playground.

YAZBECK AGREES that it was in the early 1970s that he matured and understood that something was going terribly wrong. The old fear of the Arabs seized the Maronites then. He believes in retrospect, however, that the covenant had already died in 1958.

That is when Camille Chamoun had to call in the U.S. Marines to quell a Nasserite rebellion in which the Palestinians took no part. That little civil war, Yazbeck says, was the end of the old Lebanon. Instead of sticking to the fiction of one unitary country, the Lebanese should have "deeply decentralized," that is, cantonized, their country back then.

Sheikh Bashir said as much in his first, awkward speech in 1975. Yazbeck remembers. And now the

Christian Agency head attempts to explain what Lebanese cantonization would be.

It wouldn't follow the Swiss model, or any known model anywhere. It couldn't, for the problem in Lebanon is too special.

"Each community feels it is a nation, each community is frightened of the other," says Yazbeck.

Thus the Christians, the Druse, the Shi'ites and the Sunnis must each have not only their own recognized territory but their own recognized militia to keep that territory secure.

Wouldn't this effectively mean partition? "No! There would also be a federal army, whose duty would be to protect Lebanon's federal borders, embracing all 10,452 square kilometres."

OUT IN the waiting room sits an Israeli bodyguard. The Lebanese Christian Agency is installed in Jerusalem with the blessings of the Israeli Foreign Ministry and is accorded what is called a "semi-diplomatic" status. A visitor to the agency suspects that it is viewed, from the official Israeli vantage point, as something salvaged from the ruins of Operation Peace for Galilee and from the Lebanese-Israeli normalization pact of May, 1983, which Bashir Jemayel's brother, prompted by Syrian shelling, abrogated a few weeks ago.

Yazbeck is asked what his Israeli hosts think of cantonization.

"They're very reserved about it," he answers diplomatically. "It's a very delicate matter. Israel can't come out openly for or against it because that would be seen as interference."

YAZBECK is risking his life by opening this office in the city which he has boldly described on television as Israel's capital. But for him Israel's attitude towards the cantonization of his country is secondary. The key lies with Syria.

So long as Hafez Assad is functioning and the Alawite minority is in charge there, Yazbeck sees no chance of progress, since the Alawites must prove that they are more Arab than the Arabs and the easiest way to do this is to occupy half of Lebanon and dictate a rejectionist line to the Lebanese.

Yazbeck pins his hopes on a change in Syria which would cut the Alawites down to size. If Assad died, or there was a Sunni revolt, the Syrian Army would be withdrawn from Lebanon, and then the various Lebanese would be free to implement what most of them agree on in their hearts, according to Yazbeck - cantonization.

The trouble is, Assad may last a week, a year, or ten years. "You can't wager on anything," Yazbeck says. "Franco spent ten years dying."

In the meantime, brave and not quite helpless, Yazbeck is learning Hebrew. He intends to bring Christian folk-dancers and soccer teams to Israel, to set up a trade mission, to inaugurate a ferry service between Jounieh and Haifa.

He knows that there's an election here next month and is keeping in touch with "absolutely everybody."

However long Hafez Assad takes to pass away, Pierre Yazbeck declares that the representation of the Lebanese Christians in the Jewish state "will not be a passing episode."

ALTHOUGH the coloured portraits of Bashir Jemayel are still stacked in the corner, waiting to be hung in the spanking-new offices of the Lebanese Christian Agency in Jerusalem, the ghost of the late Sheikh Bashir already presides in the quite overlooking the Knesset.

It is as if, for the chain-smoking, 33-year-old head of the agency, Pierre Yazbeck, Bashir's ideas, if not the man himself, are still alive. And this despite all the disappointments, defeats and disasters which have intervened since that day two years ago when the Israel Defence Forces moved to Beirut in an operation which Ariel Sharon thought he had coordinated to the last detail with Bashir and which was meant, among other things, to bring a generation of peace to Israelis and Lebanese, Jews and Maronites alike.

"There is no peace today, especially not for the Maronite Christians of whom Yazbeck is one. Is Lebanon therefore a hopeless case? Yazbeck denies it. He has a solution for Lebanon's agonies, and he calls it cantonization.

"This solution, he says, is what Bashir had in mind all along and what he would have carried out if he had not been cut down.

"There is no reason why it should be easy for Yazbeck to explain exactly how this cantonization of Lebanon would work. He insists, however, that it wouldn't mean the partition and end of his country. And he readily admits, in fact he stresses, that this solution is beyond the power of the Lebanese themselves, or even the Israelis or Americans, to implement today. The key to what happens in Lebanon today, Yazbeck

says, lies in Syria.

AN EARNEST and friendly young diplomat, Yazbeck is prepared to try to explain cantonization and why everything hinges on Syria. But first, he agrees to talk a little about himself, and about what Lebanon, Syria and the so-called Arab world looked like to him when he was a schoolboy.

Once an old lady in the street mistook him for a hotel bellboy, decked out as he was in the uniform and cap of the Jesuit-run school where he was enrolled near Beirut. The student body was not exclusively Christian but also included the sons of some well-to-do Sunni and Druse clans.

Why did one naturally pay to go to a private school instead of a free government institution? Well, because private schools were better.

As for what one learned about one's country in these private, French- or English-speaking schools, theoretically it was the same as the poor Shi'ites learned - the government text used for civic education said that Lebanon was an independent country which had privileged relations with Syria and special links to the Arab world.

"Now what kind of idea was that?" the reminiscing Yazbeck exclaims. "Either you're independent or you're not. Even children can understand that. So to tell the truth, during these civic education classes, we flew paper airplanes."

IT WAS at home that the young Pierre Yazbeck learned his history of Lebanon. The older men recounted the epics of Christian, and especially Maronite, resistance over the centuries to Ottoman and Arab rule. Each

XAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR, half-way through what he says will be his only term as U.N. secretary-general, makes no apologies for his image as an overly cautious diplomat.

"I intend to survive throughout my five years as secretary-general," the 64-year-old Peruvian said in response to criticism that, for someone who insists he will not stand for election in two-and-a-half years, he has not shown much willingness to take risks.

"Do you want me to dive into empty pools?" he asked a reporter who questioned the UN chief's lack of flair, implying that grand gestures are worthless if they end in disaster.

Like his two immediate predecessors, Kurt Waldheim of Austria and

U Thant of Burma, Perez de Cuellar is probably mindful of Dag Hammarskjold, a Swede who was the second UN chief. Hammarskjold paid for his bold intervention in the Congo civil war two decades ago with diplomatic isolation and ultimately death in a fiery aircraft crash.

"Le ton fait la chanson," is a French saying Perez de Cuellar is fond of citing. It expresses a career diplomat's loathing for dramatic effect: the melody makes the song and not the loudness of the singer.

Yes, he would be ready to undertake a personal mission to warring Iran and Iraq. "But, first," Perez de Cuellar adds, "I have to ponder the advantages and disadvantages of going to an area if I'm going to come back empty-handed." He is due to

## Cautious leader

By O.C. DOELLING / New York

visit Israel on June 12 and 13 as part of a Middle East tour.

In answer to a question, the secretary-general said the plight of the Soviet dissident couple, Andrei Sakharov and Yelena Bonner, is very much on his mind. But don't expect a dramatic public appeal from him, because he believes the best results in human rights cases can be achieved through discreet entreaties.

"The important facet in diplomacy," he told reporters recently "is timing. The important facet in human rights is secrecy."

After repeated prods from Perez de Cuellar, Polish authorities recently released Alicja Wesolowska, a Polish UN employee who was serving a seven-year jail term following her conviction on charges of spying for a Nato power.

Earlier this month, one of Perez de Cuellar's aides went to Poland to try to work out a deal to allow 11 jailed Solidarity leaders to be freed and granted temporary asylum abroad.

ALTHOUGH HE usually shuns controversy, Perez de Cuellar annoyed the Russians when he bypassed the Security Council in March and sent a team of experts to Iran to investigate charges that Iraq had used chemical weapons. The

team returned with evidence that mustard and nerve gases had been used against Iranian troops.

When asked about U.S. President Reagan's offer to send planes to Saudi Arabia to protect shipping in the Persian Gulf, the secretary-general counseled a "hands-off policy" to avoid an East-West confrontation in the area.

Perez de Cuellar has come under some Arab criticism for "marginalizing" the Middle East conflict while personally involving himself in unsuccessful mediation efforts to resolve the longstanding Cyprus problem and the 1982 Falklands conflict between Britain and Argentina.

Now, for the first time, he is preparing to fly into what he describes as the "diplomatic vacuum" of the Middle East to "assess the situation."

He is to begin his tour in Cairo on June 5, visiting Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan and then Jerusalem on June 13.

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Jerusalem	7:41 p.m.	8:22 p.m.
Tel Aviv	7:19 p.m.	8:25 p.m.
Haifa	7:15 p.m.	8:26 p.m.
Beer-Sheva	7:47 p.m.	8:15 p.m.
Elitz	7:12 p.m.	8:17 p.m.

Tora Portion: Naso

**JERUSALEM CENTRAL  
SYNAGOGUE**, Friday Mincha 7.20. Shabbat  
Shaharit 8. Minha 1.20. 7. Ma'ariv 8.20. Sha-  
vat (Tue. evening), Minha 7.30. Study 10.30.  
Wed., Shaharit 8. Minha 7.30. Ma'ariv 8.10.  
Hazzan: Asher Haimovitz.

**JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE**, Friday,  
Minha 6.55. Ma'ariv 7.10. Shabbat, Shaharit  
8.00. Minha 7.20. Ma'ariv 8.15. Cantor: Nafali  
Herzig and the Jerusalem Great Synagogue  
Choir, under the direction of Eli Jaffe.  
Shavot (Tue. evening), Minha 7.20. Ma'ariv  
7.25. Tikkun Shavot (Hechal Shalom Synago-  
gue) 10.45 a.m. Wed., Shaharit 8. Minha 7.30.  
Ma'ariv 8.20. Great Synagogue Choir and Can-  
tor: Nafali Herzig. Special Service for Tour-  
ists: Thurs., Shaharit 8.30.

**WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES**,  
Conservative, 4 Agros, Friday, Minha 6.00.  
Shaharit 8.30. Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Yosef  
Green. Hazzan: Dov Kaplan.

**Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of  
Religion**, 13 King David St. Saturday morning  
service at 10 a.m. (Reform).

**Italian Synagogue at Museum of Italian Art**, 27  
Rehov Hillel, Minha, Fridays, 20 min. after  
candle lighting. Shabbat, Shaharit 8 a.m.

**Har-El Synagogue (Progressive)**, 16 Shmuel  
Hanagid, Tel. 02-23841, Friday 6.00 p.m.  
Shabbat morning 9.30 a.m. Rabbi: Tuvia Ben-  
Horin.

**TEL AVIV**  
Great Synagogue, Tel Aviv, 110 Allenby Rd.  
Services conducted by Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv,  
Y.Y. Frenkel, with guest cantor. Ramban  
Shir by Synagogue President Avraham Har-  
zoni on the theme "Love of Israel." Minha 7.30.  
Shaharit 8.00.

**CHRISTIAN**  
**JERUSALEM**  
Redeemer Church (Lutheran) Muristan Rd.  
Old City, Jerusalem, Sunday Worship 9.00  
a.m. Tel. 28243, 289201.

**Christ Church (Anglican) opp. Citadel**, 8 a.m.  
Holy Communion, 9.30 a.m. Family service,  
6.45 p.m. Ecumenical service.

**Ragbi Congregation**, 4 Narkis, West Jeru-  
salem; Saturday services: 9.00 a.m. Hebrew,  
10.30 a.m. English. Tel. 232942.

**St. Andrew's Church of Scotland**, near Railway  
Station, Sunday Morning service, 10 a.m.  
Pastoral Worship Service, Mt. Zion Fe-  
lowship, 7.30 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun., Tel. 283964.

**St. Paul's (Pentecostal)**, 32 Shlomi Yisrael, 7  
p.m. Sat. (prayer); 11 a.m. Sun. Tel. 02-  
717988.

**Jerusalem Christian Assembly (Pentecostal)**  
Assembly of Canada) 7.30 p.m. Sunday at the  
YMCA (26 King David), Tel. 02-723966.

**TEL AVIV**  
Immanuel Church (Lutheran) Tel Aviv-Jafa,  
15 Rehov Beer Holman (near 17 Rehov Elia)  
Tel. 620654. Saturday Service 11 a.m. Service  
in English every Sunday at 10 a.m.

**HAIFA**  
St. George Church (Lutheran) Haifa, 43 Meir Street,  
Saturday Service 11 a.m. Tel. 04-523581.

**OTHER CENTRES**  
Ragbi Village Congregation, 2 km. north of  
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052-599913.  
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## GENERAL ASSISTANCE

### EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

**Jerusalem**: Kupat Holim Chai, Romema,  
523191. Balsam, Salah Eddin, 272315.  
Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108. Dar Eldawa,  
Herod's Gate, 282028.  
Tel Aviv: not available.  
**Netanya**: Kupat Holim Chai, 31 Brodski,  
91123.  
Haifa: Hagiborim, 28 Hagiborim, 239573.

**SATURDAY**  
Jerusalem: Bikur Holim (pediatrics, gynecol-  
ogy), Hadassah E.K. (internal, surgery,  
orthopedics, ophthalmology, E.N.T.).  
Tel Aviv: Roshak (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal,  
surgery).  
Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pedi-  
atrics, gynecology, surgery).  
Haifa: Geula, 12 Hermon, 640466.

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nal), Hadassah M.S. (gynecology), Hadassah  
E.K. (surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology,  
E.N.T.).  
Tel Aviv: Roshak (pediatrics, internal), Ichilov  
(surgery).  
Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pedi-  
atrics, gynecology, surgery).

### SATURDAY

**Jerusalem**: Bikur Holim (pediatrics, gynecol-  
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Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pedi-  
atrics, gynecology, surgery).  
Haifa: Geula, 12 Hermon, 640466.

### DENTAL

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10 p.m. Tel. 520313. Thursday: 7 p.m.-9 p.m.;  
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Gethsemane 48333 Petah Tikva 4923111  
Dan Region 781111 Rehovot 51333  
Elitz 72333 Rishon LeZion 942333  
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86791.

**Kram** — Mental Health First Aid, Tel.  
Jerusalem 669914, Tel Aviv 253111, Haifa 536-  
888, Beer-Sheva 48111, Netanya 33336.

**Jerusalem Center for Drug Abuse and Misuse**  
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## THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE CROSSWORD PUZZLE

### SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S PUZZLE NEXT FRIDAY

### Nursery Performers By Ernst T. Theimer/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Moleska

### ACROSS

- 1 Soft mineral
- 5 Rips or rips  
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- 10 Repetition
- 14 Quickly
- 19 Melville opus
- 20 Apportion
- 21 Equal, to  
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- 22 Saw of a  
sawfish
- 23 COW
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- 27 Records of  
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- 28 City on the  
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- 30 If not
- 31 But
- 34 Disdainful  
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- 37 Theatrical  
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- 38 Black ink item
- 39 City on the  
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- 40 HUBBARD
- 42 Sounds of  
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- 47 War god
- 48 An NCO
- 49 Epimichon
- 50 JACK
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- 55 Runs away, &  
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- 57 Miller's million
- 58 Transgressor
- 59 Denounced
- 61 Ray —  
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- 62 Valid
- 63 Victimized by  
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- 64 "When you  
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- 66 She wrote  
"Black  
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- 68 High-ranked  
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- 72 Harroper
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- 76 Go astray
- 77 KNAVE OF  
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- 71 Navigator's  
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- 74 Whence  
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- 75 Singer: Cantrell
- 76 Facility
- 77 A Forsyte
- 78 Unpleasantly  
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- 79 Former  
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- 80 Varguoso, e.g.
- 81 River of Kenya
- 82 Pig stealer
- 83 Latin verb
- 84 Looky-  
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- 85 Vies
- 86 Mole grays
- 87 Elger and  
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- 88 Kind of deer
- 89 Curtis of the  
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- 90 Surferette
- 91 He eyes with  
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- 92 Greek crosses
- 93 "Spoon River"  
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- 94 Into parts
- 95 HB, for one
- 96 Author of "The  
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- 97 Pinnacle
- 98 Nubbins
- 99 Certain
- 100 domestic fowl
- 101 Puckers
- 102 Reduce a sail
- 103 Call of  
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- 104 Mr. Ida  
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- 105 ONE LITTLE  
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- 106 Kind of boom
- 107 Jacob's eighth  
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- 108 Etichon, etc.
- 109 Sight at Tara
- 110 Bundled hay

- 41 Postpone
- 42 THE COCK ON  
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- 43 LITTLE  
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- 44 Afro-Asian  
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- 45 Fern's  
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- 46 Mine, for one
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- 48 They go to  
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- 49 Greenstreet  
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- 50 Like some  
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- 51 Large parrot
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- 53 Kind of eclipse
- 54 Stuffed
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- 56 Shaman, at  
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- 59 Tittles
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- 62 N.Y. island
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- 71 Dish's  
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- 72 Mexican dish
- 73 Sparrows' acts
- 74 Kind of traffic  
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- 75 Chinese puzzle
- 76 Mrs. Stengel
- 77 Piled up
- 78 Like a  
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- 79 Scottish  
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- 80 Product of so-  
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- 85 Keibel
- 86 Sharps
- 87 Jewish prayer
- 88 Brass
- 89 Out of
- 90 Viva-voice
- 91 Tay, Irish style
- 92 Roshak's kin
- 93 "Some-  
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- 94 Beaufort or  
Waddell
- 95 Place for steps
- 96 Essex contem-  
porary

### ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

1. HADASSAH 2. JERUSALEM 3. TEL AVIV 4. HAIFA 5. BEER-SHEVA 6. ELITZ 7. NETANYA 8. RASHON 9. TIBERIAS 10. RAFAH 11. GAZA 12. JERUSALEM 13. TEL AVIV 14. HAIFA 15. BEER-SHEVA 16. ELITZ 17. NETANYA 18. RASHON 19. TIBERIAS 20. RAFAH 21. GAZA 22. JERUSALEM 23. TEL AVIV 24. HAIFA 25. BEER-SHEVA 26. ELITZ 27. NETANYA 28. RASHON 29. TIBERIAS 30. RAFAH 31. GAZA 32. JERUSALEM 33. TEL AVIV 34. HAIFA 35. BEER-SHEVA 36. ELITZ 37. NETANYA 38. RASHON 39. TIBERIAS 40. RAFAH 41. GAZA 42. JERUSALEM 43. TEL AVIV 44. HAIFA 45. BEER-SHEVA 46. ELITZ 47. NETANYA 48. RASHON 49. TIBERIAS 50. RAFAH 51. GAZA 52. JERUSALEM 53. TEL AVIV 54. HAIFA 55. BEER-SHEVA 56. ELITZ 57. NETANYA 58. RASHON 59. TIBERIAS 60. RAFAH 61. GAZA 62. JERUSALEM 63. TEL AVIV 64. HAIFA 65. BEER-SHEVA 66. ELITZ 67. NETANYA 68. RASHON 69. TIBERIAS 70. RAFAH 71. GAZA 72. JERUSALEM 73. TEL AVIV 74. HAIFA 75. BEER-SHEVA 76. ELITZ 77. NETANYA 78. RASHON 79. TIBERIAS 80. RAFAH 81. GAZA 82. JERUSALEM 83. TEL AVIV 84. HAIFA 85. BEER-SHEVA 86. ELITZ 87. NETANYA 88. RASHON 89. TIBERIAS 90. RAFAH 91. GAZA 92. JERUSALEM 93. TEL AVIV 94. HAIFA 95. BEER-SHEVA 96. ELITZ 97. NETANYA 98. RASHON 99. TIBERIAS 100. RAFAH 101. GAZA 102. JERUSALEM 103. TEL AVIV 104. HAIFA 105. BEER-SHEVA 106. ELITZ 107. NETANYA 108. RASHON 109. TIBERIAS 110. RAFAH 111. GAZA 112. JERUSALEM 113. TEL AVIV 114. HAIFA 115. BEER-SHEVA 116. ELITZ 117. NETANYA 118. RASHON 119. TIBERIAS 120. RAFAH 121. GAZA 122. JERUSALEM 123. TEL AVIV 124. HAIFA 125. BEER-SHEVA 126. ELITZ 127. NETANYA 128. RASHON 129. TIBERIAS 130. RAFAH 131. GAZA 132. JERUSALEM 133. TEL AVIV 134. HAIFA 135. BEER-SHEVA 136. ELITZ 137. NETANYA 138. RASHON 139. TIBERIAS 140. RAFAH 141. GAZA 142. JERUSALEM 143. TEL AVIV 144. HAIFA 145. BEER-SHEVA 146. ELITZ 147. NETANYA 148. RASHON 149. TIBERIAS 150. RAFAH 151. GAZA 152. JERUSALEM 153. TEL AVIV 154. HAIFA 155. BEER-SHEVA 156. ELITZ 157. NETANYA 158. RASHON 159. TIBERIAS 160. RAFAH 161. GAZA 162. JERUSALEM 163. TEL AVIV 164. HAIFA 165. BEER-SHEVA 166. ELITZ 167. NETANYA 168. RASHON 169. TIBERIAS 170. RAFAH 171. GAZA 172. JERUSALEM 173. TEL AVIV 174. HAIFA 175. BEER-SHEVA 176. ELITZ 177. NETANYA 178. RASHON 179. TIBERIAS 180. RAFAH 181. GAZA 182. JERUSALEM 183. TEL AVIV 184. HAIFA 185. BEER-SHEVA 186. ELITZ 187. NETANYA 188. RASHON 189. TIBERIAS 190. RAFAH 191. GAZA 192. JERUSALEM 193. TEL AVIV 194. HAIFA 195. BEER-SHEVA 196. ELITZ 197. NETANYA 198. RASHON 199. TIBERIAS 200. RAFAH 201. GAZA 202. JERUSALEM 203. TEL AVIV 204. HAIFA 205. BEER-SHEVA 206. ELITZ 207. NETANYA 208. RASHON 209. TIBERIAS 210. RAFAH 211. GAZA 212. JERUSALEM 213. TEL AVIV 214. HAIFA 215. BEER-SHEVA 216. ELITZ 217. NETANYA 218. RASHON 219. TIBERIAS 220. RAFAH 221. GAZA 222. JERUSALEM 223. TEL AVIV 224. HAIFA 225. BEER-SHEVA 226. ELITZ 227. NETANYA 228. RASHON 229. TIBERIAS 230. RAFAH 231. GAZA 232. JERUSALEM 233. TEL AVIV 234. HAIFA 235. BEER-SHEVA 236. ELITZ 237. NETANYA 238. RASHON 239. TIBERIAS 240. RAFAH 241. GAZA 242. JERUSALEM 243. TEL AVIV 244. HAIFA 245. BEER-SHEVA 246. ELITZ 247. NETANYA 248. RASHON 249. TIBERIAS 250. RAFAH 251. GAZA 252. JERUSALEM 253. TEL AVIV 254. HAIFA 255. BEER-SHEVA 256. ELITZ 257. NETANYA 258. RASHON 259. TIBERIAS 260. RAFAH 261. GAZA 262. JERUSALEM 263. TEL AVIV 264. HAIFA 265. BEER-SHEVA 266. ELITZ 267. NETANYA 268. RASHON 269. TIBERIAS 270. RAFAH 271. GAZA 272. JERUSALEM 273. TEL AVIV 274. HAIFA 275. BEER-SHEVA 276. ELITZ 277. NETANYA 278. RASHON 279. TIBERIAS 280. RAFAH 281. GAZA 282. JERUSALEM 283. TEL AVIV 284. HAIFA 285. BEER-SHEVA 286. ELITZ 287. NETANYA 288. RASHON 289. TIBERIAS 290. RAFAH 291. GAZA 292. JERUSALEM 293. TEL AVIV 294. HAIFA 295. BEER-SHEVA 296. ELITZ 297. NETANYA 298. RASHON 299. TIBERIAS 300. RAFAH 301. GAZA 302. JERUSALEM 303. TEL AVIV 304. HAIFA 305. BEER-SHEVA 306. ELITZ 307. NETANYA 308. RASHON 309. TIBERIAS 310. RAFAH 311. GAZA 312. JERUSALEM 313. TEL AVIV 3















ROBERT FARRELL, a Los Angeles city councillor, has just completed a 10-day fact-finding mission in Israel. Originally approached by Black Hebrews in his constituency of Watts to set up a press conference to denounce Israeli racism, he decided instead to come here and assess the situation for himself.

Farrell, who has been in politics for 20 years and an elected official for 10, came to Israel with his wife as guests of Black Hebrew leader Ben-Ami Carter in Dimona. Along with the 1,300 members of the Black Hebrew community in Israel, the Farrelles celebrated the New World Passover in the Paula Ben-Gurion Forest on the outskirts of the town, May 16-17. The New World Passover is an annual event, commemorating the exodus of the Black Hebrew from the U.S. and their subsequent "repatriation" in Israel 15 years ago.

After a week with the community in Dimona, Farrell decided to meet with people who had dealt with the Black Hebrews in Israel. One of his

## Taking a look for himself

By LIOA MORIEL/Jerusalem Post Reporter

first contacts was David Clayton, Jerusalem head of the Jewish American Congress, who has closely followed the cult for the past six years. Within three days of intensive talks with Clayton and others, Farrell came to realize that there was "a problem" with the Black Hebrews but it is one of religion, rather than racism.

The up and coming American politician did say that Deputy Minister Dov Shilansky's recent comment that the group was "worse than the PLO" and his intimation that the group would not remain in Israel

much longer sent a ripple of consternation throughout the Black American community. The Jerusalem Post has learned that cult members in the U.S. have denounced Israel as racist at press conferences in major American cities.

Farrell told The Post in Arab that this approach was pragmatic. "After a while, you can trust your feelings and experience. The more I talk with people involved in the situation, the more I am able to find soft spots."

To promote dialogue, he said, you must determine what is fundamental and what incidental in any given

issue or problem. In terms of Black Hebrews, Farrell said, the fundamental aspect is the question of who is a Jew. All else is negotiable.

Farrell met with Interior Minister Yosef Burg and with ministry officials; with American Ambassador Samuel Lewis; with cult defectors Melvyn Coleman and Geneva Halley; with Amit Karmi and David Maimon of the Arab Committee for the Return of the Black Hebrews; and with former Dimona Mayor Jacques Amir. At Carter's behest, Farrell also met with a reporter, who pointed out that the Black Hebrews are now in the headlines both here and in the U.S. not because of any Israeli action or intent, but because cult defectors approached the media to tell their tales.

"The bottom line," he told The Post, is that "we do not need Dimona as a problem - we need it as a situation resolved. If it will be resolved, it will be a tremendous contribution to black-Jewish relations in the U.S."

JEWISH SURVIVORS of Nazi death camps are not alone with their grim memories. Their offspring are also haunted by the Holocaust. A three-day conference organized by children of Holocaust survivors was held in New York this week to discuss the experiences, problems, responsibilities and accomplishments of the "second generation."

Gila Fogelman, 35, a social worker at a Brooklyn mental health clinic, said she saw in her work many of the negative and sometimes bizarre effects on the children of Jews who survived Hitler's "final solution" during World War II.

One woman, hospitalized for mental problems, would only eat if her mother passed her food through a fence outside the facility at 2 a.m.

The woman had "become" her mother who survived a concentration camp because someone had pas-

## HOLOCAUST CHILDREN

By NICK LUDDINGTON/New York

sed her food in a similar manner during the war. She felt compelled to match her mother's ordeal, Fogelman explained.

The effects on children depend largely on the experience of the survivor, she said.

Fogelman's father, Sam, fought in the Polish underground during World War II, leaving her feeling inadequate when compared to "my father, the hero," she said.

Children of concentration camp survivors, or parents who were hidden, often live with a barrier of communication between them and their parents, she said.

"These survivors hardly ever talk. Many are overwhelmed with guilt at having survived while so many, including family members, died. Many are numb, almost frozen as if their feelings had died," she said. Most common of all, she said, is

the heavy feeling of responsibility.

Menachem Rosenzweig, chairman of the organization of children of survivors that planned the conference, told some 1,500 attendees during opening ceremonies that the children of survivors "have accepted the heavy responsibility inherent in our unique identity."

"Thus, we must continue to identify unambiguously with the State of Israel. We must preserve and strengthen our Jewish cultural and spiritual identity. And, if we are to avoid a recurrence of Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen, we must both speak out and act on behalf of all who are persecuted and oppressed anywhere in the world," he said.

Keynote speaker Gerson Cohen said of the Holocaust: "Not to remember is blasphemy. To remember without a creative act is a futile gesture." (Associated Press.)

## THE JERUSALEM POST

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## Speaking of criticism

By RAHEL HOLLANDER-STEINGART/Special to The Jerusalem Post

"ON THE TENTH of November 1938 a nine-year-old boy was sitting alone in a large apartment in Vienna. To fight his fears, he tried to daydream, but fear came in from the outside. There were shouts. Five men broke in. He hid under the piano. He could see only their high boots."

"They took everything. When they came to the piano, they discovered the boy. They attended to him with their boots and did other things the boy doesn't want to remember. Finally they left. As they had torn out all the lamps, he couldn't even turn on the light. In the lonely darkness of the empty apartment, the boy's Zionism was born. I am that boy."

The above passage (here condensed) opens one of the six essays in Gershon Shaked's recent book, *On Other Place: On Literature and Society*, in which he attempts to trace the self-image of Jewish society in this generation. It includes Jewish American and Hebrew writers. Since it appeared, Shaked has also published the second volume of a longer work on Hebrew narrative fiction since 1880.

For the first nine years of his life, he had a typical Viennese bourgeois existence, complete with nanny and piano lessons. He also had a Hebrew teacher. The best times of his childhood were those at his maternal grandmother's home, where the family convened for Shabbat evenings. From her he got his Yiddishkeit and all his religious experiences. Decades later, when he visited a Reform temple and was told to remove his hat, he suddenly heard her voice. "Gershon, bareheaded?"

Knowing some Hebrew made life fractionally less harsh when he came to Palestine in 1938. Nine-and-a-half, he made the sea voyage alone, and no one was waiting when he disembarked in Haifa. Undaunted, he started to walk. Hours later a kindly man offered him oranges. Another stranger, a woman, helped him to get to the Pardes Hanna Children's Home - the address he carried on his bag.

SHAKED PREFERS not to elaborate on his five years there. Physical conditions were terrible. Days and nights were a fight for survival. He fought and also wrote a play, which was staged there. Meanwhile his parents had come to Palestine, and Shaked oddly "went home" at 16. He moved into their Tel Aviv flat and attended Gymnasial Herzliya. He found it despicable. Neither the teachers nor his classmates had time for the kid from his neighbourhood, called "the Florentine slum." Only one teacher, he recalls, gave him

some encouragement.

He enriched his education with books his father had bought from immigrants from Germany for recycling - Goethe, Rilke, Werfel, Hesse and all the volumes of Graetz's Jewish history.

He dreamed of acting and directing plays, and after his army service - he was in an artillery unit in the War of Independence - he studied literature and biblical studies at the Hebrew University. To earn a living he worked with underprivileged youth (staging plays) and started writing reviews, stories and poems. Financial reasons forced him to interrupt his studies for four years.

He describes his master's thesis, about the Jew as *homo economicus*, as an attempt to understand his parents. He is now a professor at the Hebrew University and his views on criticism may be surprising.

The critic's authority, he says, derives mostly from those who shout the loudest against him. "I need to tear down, but don't anymore, even though the more you abuse, the more you're respected."

He notes that most literary critics have little kind to say about the books of Dahan Ben-Amotz "and yet they sell like hot rolls." On the other hand, he says, a favourable review may establish an unknown. It certainly won't hurt meriting a mention in Shaked's three-volume *Hebrew Narrative Fiction, 1880-1980*. "In a history of literature one does take a stand on each writer, even if only by the space one accords him. Mine is not an elitist history."

It describes, he says, how the writer sees himself, how he fared with his own and with later generations and where he fits in as a link in the chain.

SPEAKING OF criticism, he concedes that there is no absolute objective view. The critic's statements in part derive from his own existential experiences. Shaked has stressed the lack of depth in the characters created by S. Yizhar and others of his generation. Though Yizhar and others excel in describing their characters in relation to the landscape, the characters, Shaked says, lack an inner life, dreams, memories. These writers, Shaked says, fail to understand the depth they presume in their characters.

In part, he blames their collective education, the attempt to indoctrinate them with the values of the Labour Movement. "This 'internalized coercion' is much more destructive than external coercion, says Shaked. In this group, 'unjustly called the Palmach generation,' only one writer succeeded, he says, in describing the inner life of young

people who were unable to live solely in terms of the collective - Amalia Cahana-Carmon, whose characters 'are torn by the conflict between yearning for individuality and thirst for togetherness.'

An even more significant failing in that generation's education, Shaked continues, was that it ignored the breach between Jewish tradition and Western culture. Hebrew literature flourished anew when there was tension between these two elements. "Our greatest literature was written during the struggle for monotheism, and the peak of Hebrew poetry was reached (during the Golden Age) with the clash between Judaism and Spanish culture."

Israeli writers haven't succeeded in bridging the gap between the personal and impersonal experience. And Hebrew literature still lacks a major depiction of the crucial experience of our era - the connection between the destruction of the Jewish State. Such a novel has not been written since the people it would deal with have not yet interiorized those two experiences. This is reflected in society, too.

Shaked wonders whether someone who has interiorized the connection could possibly emigrate. "Today that's the principal question. Two hundred years ago you had to have a deep inner answer to the question why not convert. It was hard to be a Jew. Today it's hard to be an Israeli, and you need a deep inner answer why not to leave."

To be an Israeli, he feels, is an attempt to live the traditional culture as a secular-national one, while remaining open to a new religious interpretation.

Things went wrong in the Fifties. Until then the Labour Movement upheld the ascetic ideals of the pioneering period. Creative achievements were more highly valued than economic ones. Then the values of Western society took precedence, with achievement being measured by economic success.

"Now we are on the brink of cultural bankruptcy, just as we are on the brink of economic bankruptcy, and for the same reason: more import than export."

Shaked recognizes the links between Western and Israeli culture. He disagrees vehemently with those Jewish intellectuals who regard the Holocaust as an historical mishap, and not as an experience affecting their relationship with Western society.

He is not dazzled by attraction to the West. We need a cultural and social identity of our own. "But first we need to exist, and then do our utmost to be as moral as possible."

## JERUSALEM

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### THIS WEEK, we have finally passed the IS3m barrier in Forsake Me Not contributions. It was a tough haul, even though as far back as February we had already received in excess of IS2,500,000. But now that we've passed the milestone, perhaps contributions will pick up again. This week's totals are certainly promising, although the Toy Fund is unfortunately still trailing behind.

To those generous readers whose contributions have been making a difference, we say thank you, and ask you to bear with us if you have not yet received your receipts. The funds department, which is run on a voluntary basis, is currently short-staffed and top priority is being given to banking donations before they lose in value. Please continue to demonstrate that you care. Address your contributions to The Jerusalem Post Funds, POB 81, 91000 Jerusalem, and remember to make out a separate check for each fund.



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## DON'T BE FUELISH

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## Context

### Comic attack on imperialism

Millionen, collective production by Odin Teatret (Denmark) directed by Eugene Barba, May 26, Jerusalem Theatre, small hall.

THIS CELEBRATION of costume, music and dance is drawn from many cultures, spiced with humour and served with finesse. It does not have the same intellectual muscle as Odin's *Ashes of Brecht*. Perhaps to demand it is unfair, but I was somewhat disappointed.

The programme says the production is based on the travels of Marco Polo and Odin's own forays into the world. But the voyage in *Millionen* is a priest sitting at one end of the rectangular performance floor, his French curé's outfit punctuated by a purple sash and red socks. He has a leather knapsack on his back.

Ringed one of two golden bells beside him, he summons up exotic creatures — with recognizable elements from Bali, Japan and Brazil, transformed and enhanced by Odin's own supernatural inventions. Later he sets out a metronome to impose his pace on the natives, to give them his measure of time.

It's a carnival travesty, but what seems to hold it together is a moralizing stance. In part, this is a condemnation of cultural imperialism.

Like most cultural imperialists, the curé at some stage succumbs to the very passions he is trying to control in others. He watches couples dancing in a precarious balance of sensuality and violence, and is soon fondling a woman on his knee. Among the extravagant creatures

## ISRAEL FESTIVAL '84

he summons up, two on stilts are the most startling. I've heard them called "death" and "sexy totems", one way or another they are the Unknown. The first we meet is huge, dressed in flowing robes of red and black, decorated with lace. It wears a whiteface mask, with a bib of flowing white and black mane of furry hair, and dances and leaps with amazing control. The second is smaller, similarly dressed, and presents itself as a shaker, novice version of whatever it is. The first gives birth to a baby-on-a-stick, the second to a furry-maned doll.

But the product of the curé's cross-cultural coupling is a stillbirth: a tiny plastic human skeleton, mourned in song by the mother as the entire entourage joins the funeral procession. Fellini comes to mind.

*Millionen* ends with the exposure of tie-and-tails under the curé's cloak. But he manages to slay the

Unknowns and pronounce: "We survive everything." In *Brecht*, too, Odin expresses a moral concern with freedom and dignity, but there it is more subtle and specific and derives from an intimacy with the subject. In *Millionen* I couldn't help but feel that the appropriation of foreign cultures, even for their defence, and even with some irony, smacked of the same missionary zeal it was trying to oppose.

The feeling was strengthened by the fact that at the end of the performance, the actors took up a collection for native theatre in Colombia, the next stop on their itinerary. Certainly a good cause, but in the context — and considering that after *Brecht* they don't even stay around to reap the applause — I felt that they were asking us to pay penance for the sins of the curé with red socks.

MARSHA POMERANTZ

## Hilarious fun

formance finished close to 1 a.m., the audience was not too tired to thank the artists with warm and prolonged applause.

TEATRO ALLA SCALA, Milano — G. Rossini: "La Pietra del Paragone" Producer: Edoardo de Filippo; Staged by: Antonello Maifredi; Conductor: Roberto Abbado; Orchestra: International Ensemble Rossini (European Youth Symphony); Chorus: Teatro alla Scala (Bavarian Film, Jerusalem — May 30).

TO DO JUSTICE to this production, one must keep in mind that the opera was written over 170 years ago, when intrigues and impersonations, arising out of the commedia dell'arte of an earlier era, was all the rage. The production stayed within the confines of traditional staging, as stiff and conventional as opera has been done for 200 years in certain houses.

The music has not lost its Rossinian charm though sitting for three hours in order to enjoy four or five nice arias or ensembles is a rather high price to pay. The singing was acceptable, the acting naively stereotyped, reminding one at times of amateur societies (the two ladies Fulvia and Aspasia). By far the liveliest character was Macrobio, the journalist, who exploited every situation, putting some life into the staid proceedings.

The presentation of a youthful

work of a genius — Rossini was 22 when he wrote this, his sixth, opera — can surely be justified in a country full of opera houses and companies playing all year long, where one has the choice of hearing many different works, but here we are so looking forward to every opera production and of course would like to get the best and most attractive. On the other hand, one can't always play the two or three outstanding Rossini operas in the regular repertoire.

The orchestra, sitting at the same level as the audience, posed another problem. The young conductor took care to hold his forces down but did not always succeed in letting his singers be heard in the *utti*, and one could only gather from the fast-moving lips of the singers that they were working hard to pronounce all their words in the famous Rossinian *strepitos*. The European Youth Symphony Orchestra — all musicians seemed refreshingly to be under the age of 25 — performed with responsibility and professional efficiency though the sound, particularly of the strings, was quite colourless and dynamics limited, at least as heard from where I sat in the middle of the first bloc of seats. But, despite all these reservations, for opera buffs it was great fun, and the enthusiastic

applause at the end, grew into a standing ovation, a deserved reward for all involved in an opera presented under difficult conditions.

SCOTTISH EARLY MUSIC, director: Warwick Edwards; Flute: M. Edwards; Paul Hindmarsh, tenor; Alan Oke, baritone; Jennifer Hill, recorder; Carolyn Spence, reed; Margaret Rye, medieval fiddle; Warwick Edwards, lute, baglam (Dardanelle Abbey, Jerusalem, May 27). "Chantrelle por nous corage"; medieval songs of love and war.

This programme, starting with the 11th century and leading to Guillaume de Machaut (c.1300-1377) as its most modern composer, had of course unusual interest and attraction. One could enjoy Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (c.1155-1207) or Guiot de Dijon (late 13th century), though they are not listed in music dictionaries and were, I'm sure, unknown to the audience. Most of the music was from anonymous composers.

The presentations were rendered with sincerity and perfect professionalism, and the atmosphere of the surroundings added to the proceedings though the capacity audience filled every nook and cranny of the hall and made movement difficult. English translations of the various medieval texts helped in understanding the meaning of the songs, but as they were fairly restricted in scope and emotional impact, interest flagged somewhat towards the end. But, on the whole, the evening provided lively renditions of music most people know only from reading essays on musical history.

YOHANAN BOEHM

## Unclear intentions

MUSIC/Benjamin Bar-Am

of compositional intentions. In the performance only one thing seemed completely clear: the outstanding art of bass clarinetist Harry Sparnaay, who handled his instrument as though it were a combination of the whole woodwind family.

Van Keulen starts with an impressive solo cadenza but in what follows sonorities of textures do no change and dynamics remain static. The work ends abruptly and leaves one with a feeling of frustrated expectations. Strangely enough,

Kopytman's Cantata III leaves one with a similar feeling though for different reasons.

In both works the clarinet parts, besides the solo, are completely integrated into the orchestral textures. This, however, did not prevent Sparnaay from displaying a magnificent mastery of this really royal instrument. Sheriff did his best in both works, but from the point of view of conducting, results seemed unimpressive. Regrettably I could not stay for the final Mozart symphony.

## VIVA MEXICO

### A Mexican Fiesta at the Israel Hiltons

Viva Mexico dinner show, every night at the Jerusalem Hilton — May 29 - June 9, (except June 1, June 5.) Opening Gala Dinners, May 29 in the Grand Ballroom, Jerusalem Hilton, and June 10 in the Grand Ballroom, Tel Aviv Hilton. Cocktails at 7:30 p.m.

Viva Mexico dinner show, every night at the Tel Aviv Hilton — June 10 - June 16 (except June 15.) Closing Gala Dinner Noche Mexicana June 16 in the Grand Ballroom, Tel Aviv Hilton. Cocktails at 7:30 p.m.

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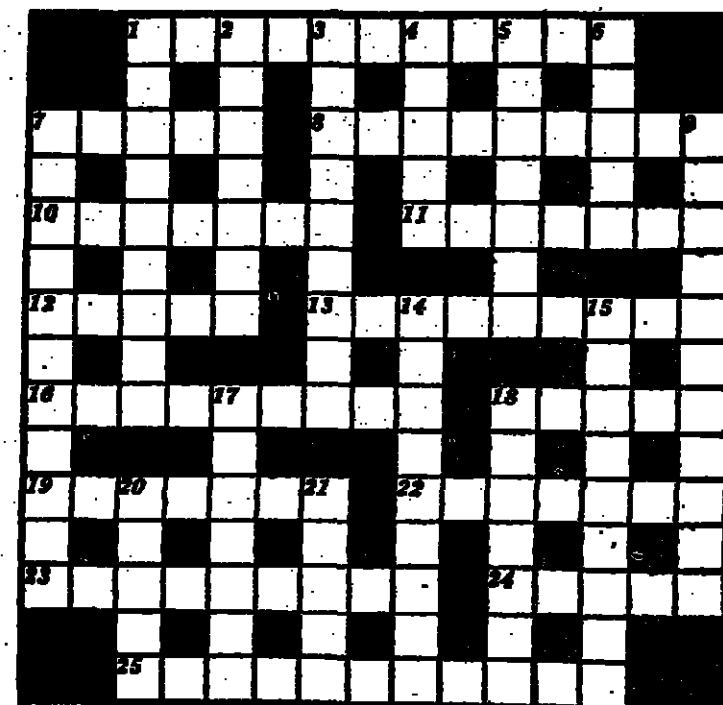
Viva Mexico. A special dinner show every night featuring: Mariachi and Jarocho Musicians, The Ballet Gran Folklore De Mexico — Theo Shanab. Permanent art and archaeological exhibits and demonstrations by Mexican Huichol craftsmen, open to public.

Viva Mexico Tombola. A drawing for a free, 7-day trip to Mexico for a lucky couple. (Flights by El-Al and Aeromexico.) Every dinner reservation during Viva Mexico entitles you to an entry in the drawing. The lucky winner will be chosen at Noche Mexicana on June 16.

## TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

### Cryptic

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.



- ACROSS
- You're likely to take a chance, going into business like this (7, 4)
  - Criminal to put the blame on someone else for taking the picture! (5)
  - By the sound of it, see supplies provided by these dealers, perhaps (8)
  - Want to make things better? So we do! (7)
  - Get even with the press, so to speak (7)
  - Put on new shoes to get a raise! (5)
  - Rose, in bed, being alarmed, got going (7, 2)
  - Those who desire to be fit; take them for military manoeuvres (9)
  - Back inside, inmates saving for something of value (5)
  - They cause havoc by eating all the green-ly, these pests (7)
  - Making one division no longer existent! (7)
  - It's great to walk along it! (3, 6)
  - Distribute portions to everyone with nothing — at last (5)
  - Opening for painters and decorators wanting to get up in the world (4-7)

- DOWN
- Sheep and lamb butchered to praise God? Certainly not! (3)
  - In a theatre short of cash, customers will be found here (3, 4)
  - Get more money from these wage-earners (9)
  - Often, those with a drinking habit hold it can easily be broken (5)
  - Retreat from one's pursuers! (7)
  - Make one fold dressmaking material (5)
  - I believe it's essential to give him a chance to cure me! (5-6)
  - Is well off, as it were — like a retired drunk? (6, 5)
  - Attacked duets, alas. Very wrong (9)
  - The following people have accepted the views of their leader! (9)
  - A drop of water (7)
  - Not dead AA men, it turned out (7)
  - In these messages, spies think safe-crackers may lead to their undoing (5)

21 Found in a vase: pallid bit of a flower (5)

### 'Quickie'

- ACROSS
- Start fighting (4, 2, 5)
  - Conductor's staff (5)
  - A truce (9)
  - Rush about wildly (7)
  - One learning (7)
  - Still more unsatisfactory (5)
  - One carrying information (9)
  - For getting at canned food (3-6)
  - Spanish town square (5)
  - Makes tougher (7)
  - Romantic old knight (7)
  - What is left over (9)
  - Piece of furniture (5)
  - British mountain range (5, 6)

- 6 Figs (5)  
7 An ornithologist (4-7)  
9 Singer, comedian, etc. (11)  
14 Waste metal (5-4)  
15 They protect others (9)  
17 Exact (7)  
18 Bird (7)  
20 To send, as money (5)  
21 Type of plant-life (5)

Yesterday's Solutions

P	O	N	T	E	R	A	C	T	I	O	N	S
A	L	L	O	U	A	I	C					
T	U	M	B	L	E	R	S					
C	A	N	T	E	C	A						
H	A	N	A	S	T	R	E	N	G	H	E	N
O	T	T	O	G	R	O	E	D				
S	P	Y	M	E	R	E						
T	U	N	I									
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R	U	E	R	E								
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T	P	G	I	L	A	B	E					
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R	C	N	R	I	T							
B	E	A	T	G	E	N	E	R	A	T	I	O

Quick Solution  
ACROSS: 10. Plain. 11. Bar. 12. Vague. 13. Woo. 14. Ash. 15. Iron. 16. Box. 17. Sparer. 18. Bird. 19. Limbo. 20. Spaced. 21. Sures. 22. Lehar. DOWN: 1. Breeze. 2. Buzzer. 3. Stow. 4. Bravado. 5. Stammer. 6. Stow. 7. Westwood. 8. Stammer. 9. Stow. 10. Westwood. 11. Tether. 12. Roach. 13. Will.

## MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Tora Culture Division

### Information Sought on Jewish Games

The Interministry Committee for Games Reflecting Values seeks information from the public on games that are or were played in Jewish communities, and which form part of the Jewish way of life, particularly at festivals.

We ask that information be forwarded to us under the following heads:

- Name of game
- Description and procedure for playing game
- When was the game played?
- In which countries was it commonly played.
- Name, address and telephone number of the person providing the information.

Suitable games will be included in the central archive of games reflecting Jewish values, now being established, and will be included in a catalogue, the name of the person providing the details being given.

Please write to Margalit Akiva, P.O.B. 1193, Tel Aviv 61 111.

## Bagrut for English-Speakers

In addition to its highly successful British programme of studies (O and A levels), the England-Israel High School, near Haifa, is now offering Bagrut (Israeli Matriculation Certificate) for English-speaking high-school students.

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Registration is now open for this new course, and applications should be made early, as space is limited.

Further details can be obtained from the Principal, Tony Brown, Tel. (04) 952022 (daytime) or (04) 951184 (evenings), or by writing to the school, Kfar Hano'ar Hadati, Kfar Hasidim 20494.

The England-Israel High School is a foreign-language project, under the auspices of Youth Aliyah, Israel.

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## Time to know

THE JERUSALEM District Court yesterday once again postponed a decision on whether or not to remand the 24 Jewish terrorist suspects until the end of the court proceedings against them. The result of that decision is a further delay in making public the suspects' names.

This delay might be legally correct but has passed the bounds of what is reasonable and tolerable in a democratic society.

At first it was the state which requested a court order banning publication of the names. The security authorities contended that publication of the names could harm the investigation.

But, as was inevitable, the identities of the suspects became widely known, even without official publication. Any possible accomplices, whom the investigators were still trying to trace among the small tightly-knit communities of the West Bank, would not have waited for an item in the press to try and escape or destroy evidence, if that was their intention.

Now that the investigators have withdrawn their objections to making the names public, it is the respondents' lawyers who object. They want to delay a court decision to remand their clients until the end of the trial and link release of the names to that decision. To achieve this twin aim, the defence attorneys are using every available legal tactic.

The attorneys' goal in delaying the remand decision is, apparently, the interest of their clients in remaining in the Jerusalem lock-up for as long as possible. Here they are closer to their families and friends and enjoy extraordinarily good conditions.

Once remanded they would be transferred, like most other citizens awaiting trial, to one of the country's regular centres of detention - less pleasant than Jerusalem's Russian Compound.

But their continued presence in the heart of Jerusalem also serves another purpose. It gives the suspects access to the media, if indirectly, which serves their declared intention to turn their trial into a political trial.

To prevent publication of the names, the lawyers have argued that publicity could endanger the suspects and cause discomfort to their families. Neither argument can be credited at this stage. The suspects are being held, as a group, in a well-defended public building. They are not endangered. The argument of family has no standing under the law.

What is being abused and endangered by the long delay in making the names known, is the public's right to know. This case of Jewish terrorist activity has immense moral and political implications for Israeli society. The public wants to know who is implicated, and thereby it will also know who is not implicated. For withholding names also casts suspicions where they are not justified.

As long as the investigation required secrecy a good case could be made for withholding the names, though this procedure also has a tendency to get out of hand.

But now that the state has waived its objections, it is simply the convenience of the suspects that seems weighed against the public interest in their identities.

The men who have been indicted in this case are entitled to a scrupulously fair trial, like all citizens. But no more.

## JEWISH TERROR

(Continued from Page One)

be permitted to read the material without signing the document.

But that posed a problem for advocate Ya'acov Rubin, representing some of the other defendants. He has been relying on the confidentiality element of the material to oppose publication of the names of his clients.

At the beginning of the hearing, Weiner spent an hour trying to clarify which of the eight defence lawyers represented which of the 24 suspects. (Two additional defendants, Israel Defence Forces officers, appeared in court on Wednesday and a hearing will be held on Sunday to determine whether they will be held until the end of their trial and whether their names will be published. Another defendant was convicted earlier this week of transporting explosives and is expected to be sentenced on Sunday.)

All the while, Defendant No. 1 sat in the corner studying his Talmud, occasionally glancing up to look at the judge.

Across the room, a light-haired woman stared at her husband on the defendants' bench. She wore a white

kerchief on her head, as did most of the women in the room.

Hand-linked into a corner of the kerchief was "Hatzar Adar - Yamit." Hatzar Adar was the settlement thrown up by Gush Emunim activists as one of the last-ditch efforts to halt the withdrawal from Sinai in 1982.

When Weiner called a brief recess to try to unravel the various requests by the defence for postponements of the hearing, and "vacations" for the suspects, the families and the defendants intermingled with the journalists, the lawyers and the handful of police officers on the scene to guard against a breakout.

It took Weiner almost half an hour to reach his decision about the new date - June 11 - and about the special hearing for Yitzhak's request not to sign the confidentiality statement.

There were no revelations in court yesterday except for the understanding that when the trial finally begins sometime in the next few weeks, it will be unlike any other trial held in that courtroom on Salah e-Din street, next door to the Arab girls' school from which on can hear the sound of the pupils singing.

## KARAMEH

(Continued from Page One)

guarantee Lebanese sovereignty and prevent cross-border infiltration, he added.

But Lebanon has no second thoughts on its abrogation of the Lebanese-Israeli troop-withdrawal agreement signed under U.S. sponsorship in May last year. Karameh said.

"We are confident of our ability to build up a legal force capable of controlling the situation (in the south) effectively and comprehensively," he said.

The statement implicitly dissociated the Beirut government from the South Lebanon Army, the Israeli-backed militia that Israel hopes will eventually replace its troops in the south.

"The Lebanese Army alone can protect the land and the people. We do not recognize any other army set

up outside the framework of legitimacy," it said.

The statement gave no indication of how the Lebanese government plans to go about securing Israeli agreement to its plans for South Lebanon.

Karameh has ruled out direct talks and Israel has said negotiation through a third party is out of the question.

Sixty-eight members of the 99-seat unicameral parliament showed up for the meeting at its Villa Mansour headquarters, in central Beirut's no-man's-land only metres from the only open crossing between the Lebanese capital's Christian and Moslem sectors.

Parliament adjourned after Karameh's speech until Tuesday, to begin the debate on the document before the vote is taken. (AP, Reuters)

# Drawing the line

By ZEEV CHAFETS

THE OTHER day I was in Tel Aviv and I stopped by the office of a woman I know, an old friend from the time we both worked for the Likud. When I arrived, I found her deep in conversation with a familiar face - literally that, for although I've seen him around the Beit Sokolov cafeteria for years, and at various political gatherings, I've never known his name. He is a middle-aged man, a former American I think. He wears a knitted kippa. Ours is a nodding acquaintance, so I nodded.

"I'm just explaining to our friend here," he gestured to the woman I had come to see, "why the arrest of the so-called underground settlers is completely unjust. Hell, they were only protecting themselves and their families. Right?"

He grinned at me slyly, one tough hombre to another, and I was so startled that for a moment I was dumbstruck. I mumbled to the woman that I would come see her when she wasn't busy. I nodded again to Familiar Face. I think I even returned his smile.

Once I got outside, I had an attack of "what-I-should-have-said" to the man in the knit skullcap, withering words that would have expressed my contempt for the acts of terror he was defending. Still, frustrating as my tongue-tied silence had been, it was, I thought, of very little importance. After all, the suspects had been arrested and would be brought to trial. The system works. And besides, what good would it have done to argue with a man so twisted

as to praise universally condemned acts of violence against innocent people.

IN THE next few days, though, Familiar Face's words, and my failure to respond to them, kept coming back to me. I recalled them when Minister Yuval Ne'eman defended the attack on the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and El-Bireh, praising them with faint damnation; and again, when I heard public figures protesting the arrests of several prominent West Bank rabbis suspected of involvement with the underground. And once again, most forcefully, when Moshe Levinger promised the country a political trial in which the real defendant would be the government and its failure to protect the settlers from Arab violence.

Gradually I began to understand. My meeting with Familiar Face had been accidental, but the sentiments he had expressed were neither random nor uniquely his. They were, in fact, a small part of a large public relations campaign with a clear message: whether the individuals under arrest are guilty or not, the acts with which they have been charged are good acts, legitimate and even praiseworthy. They entail no shame and require no apology; on the contrary, they express the highest ideals of patriotism, Zionism, even Judaism itself.

This message turns the actual arrests of the alleged terrorists into a cloak-and-dagger drama of almost secondary importance. Moshe

## The Friday Dry Bones



Levinger and his disciples have raised the stakes - no longer simply the guilt or innocence of individual suspects, but the contention that there is no such thing as guilt when the perpetrator is a Jewish settler and his victim is an Arab. The arrests, in short, have become the opportunity for a bold, frontal challenge to the fundamental values of the State of Israel.

There is logic to this "best defence is a good offence" approach which attempts to legitimize murder by transforming it into a subject of political debate. Such a tactic depends on silence - such as my silence in response to Familiar Face - that can be interpreted as apathy, neutrality, or even agreement. Silence that is, in short, a form of complicity.

I am under no illusion that I can say anything about the nature and consequences of Jewish terror that hasn't been said better (and much sooner) by others. My thoughts on the matter make no contribution in that regard. I have, however, a different reason for speaking out. I think that the Levings and Ne'emans and Kahanes are counting on our silence - those who, like me, have been identified with the Likud or, more broadly, the Israeli center-right. The Shamir government has acted honorably and forcefully in this matter, but silence may create the impression that some of its potential supporters have more than a little sympathy for the terrorists.

Moshe Levinger's public relations campaign for terror has drawn a line

in the sand - and rarely have the boundaries been more clear-cut on any public issue. Honour or cowardice, law or chaos, right or wrong. We have an obligation to say, clearly, what side of that line we are on.

Levinger and his followers must understand that the rest of us regard them as an isolated band of thugs, and that their defence of murder and maimings is not a respectable political opinion but an act of moral dementia. He and his loathsome band of familiar faces need to hear, loud and often and from all sides of the political spectrum this simple truth - that they are enemies of the Jewish state, of the Jewish people and of the Jewish way of life.

The writer is the former chief of the Government Press Office.

## READERS' LETTERS

### NOBODY TO VOTE FOR

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - It is hard to accept the cynicism displayed by our political parties when they promise that the election campaign will be conducted in a calm and cultured manner. It is sufficient to observe the central committees of the various parties in action in order to ascertain the degree of brotherhood, comradeship and peace in their midst.

For instance, Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira tried unsuccessfully to unite the various factions in the national religious camp. The question of rotation in Agudat Yisrael further exacerbated the confrontation between Hassidim and Mitnagdim, and between Sephardim and Ashkenazim.

The Liberal Party revealed the full extent of its hypocrisy and vacuity when it decided to punish the Chairman of the Knesset, Menachem Shimon, and removed him from his list because he had put national interest above party interest.

Herut and the Liberals are making their contribution to culture with their fight over the revisionism of the Gahal agreement.

The Minister of Interior, Dr.

Burg, who is in charge of managing the elections, expects that this campaign will be more difficult than the previous ones. No great imagination is needed to anticipate what will happen in the meeting halls and public squares.

While all this is going on in the leadership circles of the parties, the plain citizen must think about what to do in the voting booth on election day.

In view of the past experience and the actual behaviour of the people's representative in the Knesset, it is hard to entertain feelings of optimism and to decide to vote for this or that party. Obviously, private interest take precedence over all else. The need to economize and give a good personal example does not concern our leaders, who are incapable of dealing with our social and economic problems. All this, in the midst of the incredible waste and low ethical standards we witness must lead the Israeli public to the conclusion that they are faced with a total breakdown of the system and that there is really nobody to vote for.

MORDECHAI OFIR  
Jerusalem

### THE TELEPHONE SERVICE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Perhaps among the readers of The Jerusalem Post there is a philanthropist who is interested in making the lives of many Israelis safer and easier - not with another park or library - but by adopting the telephone service and helping it to get on its feet.

This is not a facetious request. Having lived through a war, dangerous reserve duty and a childbirth (among other things) with no possibility of communication, I can honestly say that the quality of our daily life is severely hampered by the lack of a telephone.

For whatever reason, our telephone company seems to be dragging its feet beyond all reason. I cannot even find out how long I have still got to wait. I can assure whoever decides to help that he or she would be making a genuine, thoroughly appreciated gift to many tense and frustrated families, especially when Abba is off somewhere dangerous, or even when the baby has the measles.

PNINA ISSEROFF  
Ra'anana.

### ARNOLD ZWIG

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Under the auspices of the Leo Baeck Institute, I am writing a biography on Arnold Zwig "from a Jewish point-of-view," since much of what has been written about him, in the East as well as in the West has been wrought with distortion, especially where it concerns the Jewish components of his life and work. If some of your readers have personal memories of Arnold Zwig, even small, every-day, seemingly trivial impressions from the time the author lived in Palestine (1933-1948), I would appreciate hearing from them, c/o the Leo Baeck Institute, P.O. Box 8298, 91082 Jerusalem, attention "Arnold Zwig Project."

DR. ARIE WOLF  
Jerusalem.

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### RABBI LEVINGER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I was appalled and astonished to read that Rabbi Levinger was kept in prison for 10 days.

Why do the police have to lock up such a man? He is neither a blackmarketeer nor a racketeer. The police do not have to fear that he will flee the country like so many gangsters when they are about to be caught. He is available to the police every day for questioning and does not have to be kept in prison like an ordinary criminal.

Rabbi Levinger is a real hero, a dedicated patriot who risks his life and that of his wife and children every day and night of the year.

We should bow our heads in gratitude for such persons, who do everything for the good of the people and the State of Israel. Instead, such a man is kept in the police lock-up. Shame on the police and the Minister of Police for permitting such action.

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### ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - In general, I agree with most of Yosef Goell's well-written article of May 18, "The lesser evil." The one point with which I completely disagree is the conclusion that, as opposed to another impossible Likud-led government, there exists only one "lesser evil" alternative - the Alignment.

Having been an active member of the Labour Party (when it was still good old Mapai) for many years, I

### LATE PAYMENT OF SALARIES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - As chairman of the Teachers' Council at the Kfar Batya High School, one of the institutions operated by the American Mizrahi Women's Organization, I wish to bring the following issue to the attention of your readers.

Our employers, as possibly those of thousands of Israeli employees, have for many years taken unfair advantage of the law concerning the payment of salaries. This law, though stipulating that the salary is due on the first of each month, does not penalize the employer for delaying payment, unless the delay is more than two weeks. The AMWO has therefore fixed the date for payment of our salaries to the 15th, the last "legal" date, thereby causing a serious devaluation of salaries. Under the present conditions of inflation, it can amount to a reduction of 8-10 per cent of our salaries.

Our attempts during the last three years to persuade our employers that this practice is immoral and a transgression of a commandment of the Torah, have been of no avail.

We were glad to learn recently that, following our initiative, a bill has been proposed to the Knesset, shortening the "legal" delay of salaries to one week only. We very much hope that our M.K.s will realize the importance of this bill and will pass it during their present session, so as at least to reduce this blatant violation of justice.

YECHIAL AMRAMI  
Kfar Batya

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### JERUSALEM-BORN CASSOWARY CHICK

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - On behalf of the staff at the Jerusalem Biblical Zoo, I would like to thank The Jerusalem Post for the excellent coverage of recent events at the zoo.

On May 25, The Post printed a picture of a Cassowary chick which hatched here at the zoo. I would like to give you some additional important facts concerning this bird. Cassowaries are large flightless birds (Ratites), native to Australia. This is the first successful artificial incubation of a Cassowary egg in Israel. It is extremely difficult to breed Cassowaries in captivity and, in 1983, less than half a dozen Cassowaries hatched in zoos worldwide. This is why the Biblical Zoo's successful hatching of the chick is such a significant event. We are presently incubating five more eggs and hope these will also hatch.

Please also note that Ron Kagan who was pictured with the Cassowary is the acting director and zoologist of the zoo, and not a keeper as stated.

SHARON WEINLAUF  
Public Relations,  
The Biblical Zoo  
Jerusalem

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Ashdod: Tel. 011-22724/22284 Ashdod, Tel. 053-34177  
Tel. 011-341730 ATT: ELKAN

## THIS WEEK

### BESTSELLERS IN PAPERBACKS

- \* THIS YEAR IN JERUSALEM - Joel Gross
- \* MANDARIN - Robert Kegan
- \* FIREFOX DOWN - Craig Thomas
- \* CAREFUL, HE MIGHT HEAR YOU - Summer Locke
- \* ELIOT - William Peter Blatty
- \* LEXION - FIRE - Stephen Donaldson
- \* GILBERT - FIRE - Stephen Donaldson
- \* THE HILL OF EVIL COUNSEL - Anna O.
- \* WHERE THE JACKALS HOWL - Anna O.

NEW! NEW!  
\* BEN-GURION  
and the intellectuals: power,  
knowledge, and charisma  
- Michael Keren

\* VENGEANCE - GEORGE JONAS  
The true story of a counter-terrorist  
mission

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